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Tuesday
2 July 1996

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Daily Report
East Europe

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Albania: Police Arrest Group Smuggling 'Radioactive Substances'

AU0207090996 Tirana ATA in English 1136 GMT 30 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, June 30 (ATA)—The Tirana police managed to seize on Saturday [29 June] a group of smugglers who traded strategic substances, the daily ALBANIA writes today. Police have confiscated two ampules each 5 grams with radioactive substances which can be used to produce an atomic bomb, the paper says.

The paper cited sources of the Tirana Commissariat No. 2 saying that three persons who collaborated with a foreigner have been arrested. The non-Albanian national acted as a mediator between them and the international network handling the illegal trade.

Albania: Justice Minister Discusses Cooperation With UN

AU2806181096 Tirana ATA in English 1855 GMT 25 Jun 96

[Report by A. Frasheri]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, June 25 (ATA)—The United Nations offers cooperation and assistance to the Albanian Justice Ministry. This was confirmed in a working meeting between the Albanian Minister of Justice Hektor Frasheri and the UN permanent representative Paolo Lembo, responsible for drafting a regional project on democratisation of state main institutions in the Eastern Europe and UN permanent representative in Tirana, Peter Schuman.

Lembo offered cooperation and assistance to this ministry to enable a fast reformation of the Albanian judiciary and technical assistance in preparing the legislation, short term qualification scholarships for law experts in different fields.

UN representatives praised the achievements of the Justice Ministry regarding the working out of a legislation in compliance with the international standards and contemporary values and especially the drafting of a number of codes and laws necessary for the development of Albania during the last years.

Albania: New Assembly Meets; Socialists Boycott Session

AU0207093896 Tirana ATA in English 2111 GMT 1 Jul 96

[Report by A. Sakja]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, July 1 (ATA)—The Albanian new parliament started proceedings on July 1st. Winning the right to participation in this parliament were 122 deputies from the Democratic Party [PD], three from the Republican Party [PR], three from the Human Rights Union Party [PBDNj], two from the Balli Kombetar [National Front] Party [PBK], center-right and right wing parties, as well as 10 deputies from the Socialist Party [PS], left party, which has declared not to take part in this parliament.

The proceedings of the parliament were also attended by the socialist deputy of the Librazhd district, Sali Rexhepi, while the other nine seats this party assured were not taken up.

The PS boycotted the elections only few hours before the polls closed and declared it would not take part in parliament alleging it was illegal.

The new legislature of the People's Assembly, the fourteenth, was opened by Sabri Godo, chairman of the Republican Party, who hailed the consensus and open dialogue to settle disagreements between parties.

In his greeting message to the new parliament, President of the Republic Sali Berisha expressed the conviction that: "The Albanian new parliament emerging from free and fair elections of May 26 will continue the road initiated by the previous parliament and will accomplish its historic mission this century end."

The deputy of the Democratic Party, Ali Spahia, put up by the PD for the post of the chairman of its parliamentary group, proposed the parliament the composition of the Mandate Scrutiny Commission, which will control and verify the mandates of all deputies. The commission also includes the socialist deputy, Sali Rexhepi.

The first sitting closed on July 1st. The other sitting will be held on July 2, afternoon.

Albania: Meksi Begins New Term, Endorses PD Program

AU0207100796 Tirana ATA in English 2029 GMT 1 Jul 96

[Report by R. Floqi]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, July 1 (ATA)—The aim of the Albanian new government will be the realisation of the PD [Democratic Party] programme to meet the people's demands, but with a critical view of the previous government's performance, Premier Aleksander Meksi, reelected by the PD National Council on Sunday [30 June] to preside over the new government, said on Monday.

"My reelection is an appreciation of the government's performance during the last four years," said Meksi in an interview with ATA on Monday.

"I believe the last four years have been the most difficult years in the post communist history of Albania. In this aspect, the positive assessment of the government's performance in an appreciation of my work and of the ministers in drafting the central structures of the Albanian state. We have had even greater obligations to accomplish the PD programme and the Albanians' desire for a better life, more democratic and nearer Europe."

"In general the objectives have been over fulfilled," said Meksi. "In the macro-economic aspect, the government has over fulfilled the obligations and long-term objectives it had in the agreements with the IMF and World Bank. But, certainly, we have still much to do as regards infrastructure, administration, and emigration or many other issues to meet the people's demands."

"However, four years are insufficient, especially when knowing the history of this country emerging from 50 years of communist dictatorship. And this situation can be remedied neither overnight nor in four years."

"The government's and PD's contribution is that it chose the best, the most correct and successful way to transform Albania, to overcome backwardness as well as the pain and wounds inherited from the 50 year old communism. In this relation, the government's and PD's performance in the previous legislature should be considered as very positive."

"The tasks of the new government are those predicted by the PD programme. It is also drafted with our participation together with other capable people of the PD who, surely, will work together with us," Meksi said adding that "the new ministers are planned to be appointed."

Meksi referred to the main directions of the government's performance including the continuation of the economic growth at rapid rates, maintenance of welfare, insurance of a modern infrastructure, the strengthening of public order, the national question and the opening to Europe, that is, to meet the immediate demands of the Albanian people.

"We will try that these objectives be included in the government's performance in order to have a realisable programme," Meksi said.

As regards changes in the government's structure, Meksi said that: "Like other times, we will try to adapt ourselves to the economic, social, and political life. The most appropriate moment to carry out the changes in the government is the moment when a new government comes to power. And we will not hesitate to make them, as we have not hesitated during the last four years."

Asked if he could give a mark to the previous government, Meksi said: "The mark cannot be given by pupils, it is given by professors, that is the people."

Bulgaria: Sendov Makes 'Unofficial Visit' to Moscow

AU0107145096 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 1 Jul 96 p 2

[Article by Sofiya Petrova: "Is Sendov To Meet Yeltsin and Zyuganov Secretly?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday Blagovest Sendov departed for Moscow on an unofficial visit. The parliament chief left by air for Moscow in his role as mathematician, to take part in traditional meetings. However, apart from pure science, it is rumored that the academician will also meet the two Russian presidential candidates.

Informed sources claim that people in the Bulgarian Embassy in Moscow have been holding discussions for several days with Zyuganov's and Yeltsin's teams. It is also reported that General Lebed, secretary of Russia's National Security Council, is to see Sendov today or tomorrow.

Sendov himself denied that any such meetings were envisioned. The National Assembly chairman only admitted that he would be seeing Yegor Stroyev, chairman of the Federation Council.

According to these sources, the parliament chief wanted to avoid the misunderstandings that occurred following the last mathematics conference. On that occasion, Sendov had a surprise meeting with Boris Yeltsin, and declared following a long conversation with the Russian president that Bulgaria has no place in NATO. This provoked an intense row in parliament, during which the opposition demanded Sendov's resignation.

Bulgaria: VMRO-SMD Deputy on Greece's Pomak Campaign

AU0107131496 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian 28 Jun 96 p 3

[Interview with Evgeni Ekov, Bulgarian National Assembly deputy of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Movement-Union of Macedonian Societies, VMRO-SMD, by Lyudmila Zasheva; place and date not given: "No Accidents Occur in Greek Domestic and Foreign Policy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Zasheva] Mr. Ekov, in your opinion, what is Greece aiming at with the idea of delineating a separate Pomak nation?

[Ekov] At least three things. First, it wants to break up the unity between the Muslims in western Thrace, who are both Bulgarians and Turks, and deprive Turkey of a major trump with regard to interfering in Greece's internal affairs. Second, it wants to transfer the problem over into Bulgarian territory as well; Bulgaria naturally cannot accept that a further part of its nation should separate itself and declare itself to be something different. Third, Greece wants to demonstrate to the international institutions for protecting rights that it is very concerned about the rights of the minorities in Greece.

[Zasheva] Why was precisely this moment chosen for stirring up the problem?

[Ekov] Two weeks ago, the Greek parliament ratified the agreement on opening three new border crossings. Two of them link areas populated by Bulgarian Muslims on both sides of the border, in western Thrace and the Rhodopes. The Greek now want to prevent the inevitable development of the problem of the Bulgarian Muslims' rights following the restoration of the links that were artificially broken between them, because in fact some of these people are even related.

[Zasheva] Greek Ambassador Sidheris told Foreign Minister Pirinski the thesis of a Pomak nation is not Greece's official position. Do you believe that this is so?

[Ekov] As a person who has dealt with the rights of our compatriots in Aegean Macedonia and Thrace for many years, I can declare with a full sense of responsibility that such a thesis could not have appeared there unless it had been approved in advance and established as part of Greece's policy of assimilating the citizens who are not of ethnic Greek origin.

[Zasheva] Do you assert that it forms part of Greece's state policy?

[Ekov] Absolutely, and from now on they will use this trump to create internal problems for us. Look at where the greatest concentration of Greek companies is, outside Sofia. They are in the Rhodopes, in settlements all along the border. The economic base has been created for spreading the propaganda concerning a Pomak nation in Bulgaria. Since the time of the Great Idea [thesis of Greek expansion], which was adopted at the beginning of the last century, Greece has always been characterized by consistency in his national policies. This step serves merely as a further proof that no accidents occur in Greek foreign and domestic policy.

Bulgaria: Zhelev Makes Senior Military Appointments

AU0107130496 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 30 Jun 96 p 2

[Article by Krasen Kostov and Plamen Grigorov: "Zhelyu Zhelev Appoints New Army Chiefs"]

[FBIS Translated Text] President Zhelev has signed decrees on appointing senior command staff in the

Inspectorate under the Defense Ministry and on creating a Main Headquarters of the Ground Forces and the Army Corps.

This became clear in Sliven, during the "Sliven 96" paratroop maneuvers with international participation.

Colonel General Petko Prokopiev has been appointed chief inspector. Lieutenant General Ivan Binev becomes chief inspector of the Air Force. However, Major General Angel Marin still lacks the president's blessing for his appointment as chief inspector of the Ground Forces. By presidential decree, the Ground Forces Command has been reformed into a Main Headquarters under the command of Lieutenant General Ginyo Tonev, the present commander of the 3d Army. Major General Todor Todorov will take over command of the 3d Army Corps.

Lieutenant General Zakharin Iliev, until now commander of the Ground Forces, is appointed a first deputy chief of General Staff. Lieutenant General Stefan Popov becomes deputy chief of the General Staff for the Air Force.

Defense Minister Dimitur Pavlov will countersign the presidential decrees before 1 July, whereupon the newly appointed senior generals will assume their posts.

Bulgaria: Miners Start 24-Hour National Strike

AU0207100596 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 2 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] First, here is the latest news on today's leading event in Bulgaria—the 24-hour national strike by the miner members of the KNSB [Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria].

According to the KNSB Press Center, over 30,000 mine workers are taking part in effective strike actions. At 0700 this morning, the strike started in the Cherno More [Black Sea] mines. The protest organized by the KNSB there is supported by local organizations of Podkrepa and the "Miner" Independent Trade Union Federation. A protocol of agreement has been signed with the mine management, which is putting no obstacles in the way of the strikers. According to our correspondent, Khristo Uzunov, rallies in support of the strikers were held this morning at the Seymenliyski and Akheloy pits.

The miners at the Brezhani and Oranovo pits of the Pirin mines are on effective strike, our correspondent Boris Markov in Blagoevgrad reports.

Our correspondent, Nikolay Dragiev, has reported that some 600 miners held a one-hour warning strike at the Chiprovets Mine. Miners at the "Gita Gospodinova" and "Miner" pits in the Maritsa Basin and workers at the central maintenance base in Dimitrovgrad adopted protest declarations. Protest rallies were also held at the Sveta Anna, Republika, Avtostopanstvo, and other mines in the Pernik group. The protest rally of miners from the Babino pit in the Bobovdol Basin was attended by KNSB President Krustyu Petkov and Pencho Tokamakchiev, president of the KNSB miners' federation.

According to information from Podkrepa headquarters, their members have started 24-hour effective strikes at the Antratsit mine in the Balkanbas, the Cherno More mines, and Bistritsa pit. Miners from Bobovdol, Chakurovo mine, and Marbas demonstrated their solidarity by downing tools for one hour. In the Maritsa-Iztok mining complex, every shift is starting with a protest meeting. According to our correspondent, Nayden Nedyalkov, workers at the Lev ore mine in the [word indistinct] Balkans have not joined the strike.

Bulgaria: Reasons Cited for Coal Miners' Strike

AU0107204796 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 1 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Tomorrow coal miners who are members of the KNSB [Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria] will hold a 24-hour full strike. They will be supported by their colleagues in all mining enterprises, who will down tools for one hour tomorrow. This was confirmed at a news conference given by the KNSB in Sofia today, at which it was recalled that under the agreement between the trade unions and the Energy Industry Ministry, the cabinet is due to examine a draft decree on the coal-mining industry before 28 July. The decree was drafted after prolonged negotiations and relates to the removal of viable mines and sections of mines from the list of those earmarked for liquidation. The decree also determines one-off payments that miners made redundant as a result of liquidation are to receive.

Members of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation and the "Miner" Independent Trade Union Federation are also expected to join the strike.

Bulgaria: Dogan: SDS, People's Union Do Not Want Power

AU0107143296 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 1 Jul 96 p 1

["DUMA PRESS" report: "Dogan: The Union of Democratic Forces and People's Union Do Not Want Power"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Neither the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] nor the People's Union have any political interest in assuming power at the moment, because the agony will start in one month, or in three months at the very most—Ahmed Dogan is reported to have revealed this at the delegates meeting in closed session at the third accountability-election conference of the Kurdzhali organization of the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS]. This was his oblique retort to the criticism of a woman delegate from Momchilgrad, who accused the DPS deputies of supporting the Videnov government in the parliamentary ballot on the opposition's no-confidence motion. Dogan reportedly warned the DPS elite that unless early parliamentary elections are called by the spring of 1997 at the very latest, assuming that the opposition wins the presidential elections, they would be left merely to spout hot air. He promised that the DPS and the opposition would kick the government out, with the help of the trade unions and using all permitted and unpermitted means within the framework of the law.

Bulgaria: SDS Official on Opposition Within BSP

AU0107150196 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 30 Jun 96 p 2

[DEMOKRATSIYA staff report: "Aleksandur Bozhkov: No Opposition to Videnov Exists Within Bulgarian Socialist Party"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sofia—Within the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] no political line exists directed against Zhan Videnov, only corporate interests. This statement was made on Bulgarian National Television last night by Aleksandur Bozhkov, deputy chairman of the National Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. Bozhkov pointed out that within the BSP there is no clearly defined group that could form an alternative to his rule. "Only financial interests exist inside the BSP," Bozhkov stressed, "and for this reason groups occasionally form to oppose the prime minister on topics like natural gas, grain, and the Neftokhim and Plama Refineries." The SDS leader described as elementary the thesis put forward by Foreign Minister Georgi Pirinski that the national crisis is a consequence of problems that have been put off for years, which Pirinski's party is now reportedly solving. In support of his view, Bozhkov recalled the SDS's warnings to those in power against the idea that the forces of inertia would make 1995 a good year. Instead of heeding the warnings, Bozhkov noted, the BSP halted the growth and revival of the economy, which led in 1996 to the development of a crisis, the like of which has not been seen for many years.

Czech Republic: Klaus Appointed PM To Form New Government

LD0207100696 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 0900 GMT 2 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Czech President Vaclav Havel accepted the government's resignation at 1000 and then appointed Vaclav Klaus as prime minister of the [new] Czech Government.

Ilona Dienstbierova reports from Prague Castle:

[Dienstbierova] Vaclav Klaus submitted the resignation of the current Czech government to Czech President Vaclav Havel in the first hall of Prague Castle today.

[Begin Klaus recording] Mr. President, following the decision of the Czech Government yesterday, I am submitting to you the resignation of the first government of the independent Czech Republic. [end recording]

Vaclav Havel then said:

[Begin Havel recording] Mr. Prime Minister, in accordance with the Constitution, I accept the resignation of the government, and through you I entrust the new government with carrying out its work until it is appointed. [end recording]

The president of the Republic appointed Vaclav Klaus as prime minister of the new government. Chancellor Ivan Medek read the oath:

[Begin recording] [Medek] I shall read the oath and may I ask you, Prime Minister, to take this oath by holding out your hand to the president of the Republic, and [then] to confirm it in writing: I promise loyalty to the Czech Republic. I promise that I shall observe its Constitution and its laws and implement them. I promise on my honor that I will carry out my duties conscientiously and shall not abuse my position.

[Klaus] I promise. [end recording]

Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus will submit a draft composition of the new government this afternoon.

Czech Republic: ODS Begins 'Courting' of ODA on Merger

AU0207105696 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 1 Jul 96 p 2

[Article by Jiri Kubik and Sabina Slonkova: "Klaus's Party Is Beginning To Probe Whether the Alliance Would Like To Merge"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—Just a few weeks after the recent parliamentary elections, in which the coalition did not do as well as it thought it would, the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] has commenced the political courting of Kalvoda's Alliance, which, evidently, could culminate in the merger of the two parties. ODS Chairman Vaclav Klaus made it clear on Saturday [29 June] that he would welcome a merger in the future. The leader of the Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA], however, described this possibility as absolutely unacceptable.

This is the first time since the elections, in which the ODA only just made it over the threshold necessary for entry into parliament, that the ODS has tried to gauge the Alliance's reaction to considerations about a possible merger. The ODS, of course, launched its first probe very cautiously, when at the weekend session of its executive council, for starters, it offered its coalition partners—that is, apart from ODA, the People's Party, too—cooperation prior to the fall elections to the Senate. Klaus, however, refused to define his plan in any way. "We do not have a mandate to add anything," said Klaus.

Not even his party colleagues wanted to give any details. One of them merely confirmed that the Executive Council had chosen a formulation that would not arouse indignation among the coalition parties.

Despite this, the conclusion reached by the ODS Executive Council took ODA and the People's Party by surprise. "Cooperation in the senatorial elections is, for me, quite conceivable. I had thought about it myself. But I am afraid that cooperation tinted like this forfeits much of its reality. I am sorry because I consider this to be an important topic. I would expect a discussion from such serious talks and not a message from the television screen," said Kalvoda. He added that the ODS and ODA have considerably different sets of voters.

Immediately after the elections, Kalvoda did not rule out unequivocally the idea of a future merger with the ODS. "This is a matter for postelection talks," he said. Moreover, the Alliance is not completely united in its views on close cooperation with the ODS. While ODA's founders reject this strongly, Deputy Chairman Vladimir Dlouhy called for closer cooperation with the ODS at ODA's conference last March.

Kalvoda also indirectly accused the ODS yesterday of wanting to solve its own problems by a possible merger. "I do not know why other parties, let us say right-wing ones, when they are in difficulty or feel unsuccessful or confused, always resort to integration with another party," added Kalvoda.

Similarly, the People's Party was also not too enthusiastic about Klaus's proposal for closer cooperation before the senatorial elections. The chairman of the People's Party Deputies' Club, Miloslav Vyborny, described Klaus's statement as somewhat ill-considered.

"If the ODS perceives the core of its preparations for the senatorial elections in such pronouncements, we are sorry," said Vyborny on the Debata television program. He added that such statements do not benefit integration much.

Czech Republic: Right Bloc Holds Assembly, Elects Chairman

AU0207101296 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 1 Jul 96 p 3

[CTI report: "The Right Bloc Has Held its Constituent Assembly"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—The constituent assembly of the Right Bloc (PB), attended by 63 delegates, was held in Prague on Saturday [29 June]. The party's spokesman, Premysl Vachalovsky, was elected its chairman in a secret ballot. The participants at the congress approved the party's articles and outlined its policy aims and principles for the future. "We consider the integration of the small political parties whose views are close to those of the Right Bloc to be one of the most important tasks. In the event of new elections, this will prevent a dangerous shift to the left," said P. Vachalovsky.

Czech Republic: Liberal Democratic Party Ceases To Exist

AU0207100896 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 1 Jul 96 p 2

[CTK report: "Mandler's Party Is Folding"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—The Liberal Democratic Party (LDS) of Emanuel Mandler, one-time dissident and deputy in the former Federal Assembly, ceased its activity yesterday. This decision was made by the delegates at the party's extraordinary nationwide conference. According to its representatives, the party's continuation would make sense if the LDS were able to carry out political activity.

Czech Republic: CMUS To Continue as Independent Party

AU0207095196 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 1 Jul 96 p 2

[CTK report: "The CMUS Has Decided To Continue Operating as an Independent Party"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Brno—The Bohemian-Moravian Union of the Center [CMUS], which failed utterly in the recent parliamentary elections, decided at its weekend congress to continue its activity and elected a new leadership. The CMUS press spokeswoman, Simona Svitakova, said that only eight of the 43 delegates at the congress had opposed the proposal that the Union continue to function as an independent party.

The congress elected Dalibor Stambera, a former deputy from Znojmo, the new chairman of the Union; he replaces Jan Jegla in this post. He, along with Jan Krycer and Ales Kladivo, remains in the party's Presidium.

Czech Republic: Finance Minister Explains Budget Problems

LD0207123596 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1000 GMT 2 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Czech state budget showed a deficit of 1 billion Czech korunas [Kc] in the first half of the year. Czech Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik said today that the state budget is on the edge this year, but, by the end of the year, it will be balanced. Our correspondent Jiri Nemecek reports:

[Nemecek] The relatively poor result is due chiefly to two factors. The first was the failure to receive the repayments of the Russian debt, and this was a result of a decision made by the Prague Club of Creditors. The main reasons, however, were irregularities in the payments of insurance premiums and income tax. All economic subjects were obliged to submit tax forms and taxes by the end of June if they had not already done so by the end of March. Owing to delays in bank transactions, some payments were, however, still in progress. As late as yesterday, the Ministry of Finance received Kc7.5 billion, of which 5 billion was income tax.

The Ministry of Finance decided to adopt two measures:

First, in the third quarter, it would limit drawing on noninvestment funds. If the budget deficit does not go down, Minister Kocarnik will ask the new government to cut some planned expenditures. Minister Kocarnik did not rule out an overall cut in funding of all departments.

The second measure concerns a change in the method of drawing on funds. So far, organizations financed by the state are given funds from the state budget before the beginning of every quarter. Now the state will release the money on a monthly basis, and this should counteract the fluctuation of expenditure.

The way of dealing with the current deficit is to issue Treasury bonds. In June, Treasury bonds of the total value of Kc5-11 billion were issued. With rising interest rates, this way of covering the budget deficit is becoming rather expensive.

Slovakia: Kovac on Blame in Event of NATO Nonadmission

AU0207141496 Bratislava SME in Slovak 29 Jun 96 p 2

[Article by "jk": "Michal Kovac: My Son Now Looks Like a Criminal"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Brezova pod Bradlom—"My son now looks like a dangerous criminal who wanted to escape," Slovak President Michal Kovac said about the confiscation of Michal Kovac Jr.'s passport during his visit to three towns in the Zahorie area, Gbely, Brezova pod Bradlom, and Myjava, yesterday. He said that the public was asking why the president's son, if he is innocent, does not travel to Germany. "Representatives of executive have not made it possible for him. This case has become so politicized that every citizen can grasp that," Kovac said. The president met with representatives of towns and communities, with whom he discussed various issues. He also replied to a question concerning the Slovak Republic's entry into NATO: "I am glad that, at long last, the prime minister admitted that our chances have been 70 percent jeopardized. He says that the opposition and the president are to blame for it. I claim that it is the government's responsibility," he said. According to him, Slovakia still has a chance if it adapts its domestic policies to the principles operating in democratic countries. The noninvitation to talks on NATO's enlargement could have negative repercussions because, even now, we are a country with a stagnating influx of foreign capital. The president ended his visit to the Zahorie area by laying flowers at the tumulus of M.R. Stefanik at Bradlo.

[Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 29 July carries the following TASR report on Kovac's visit to Gbely on 28 July: "Slovak President Michal Kovac continues to uphold the principle not to become involved with his standpoints in the development of the present domestic political situation. He said this at a meeting in Gbely with representatives of self-administration bodies, mayors of nearby communities, and representatives of local companies and churches. He voiced the conviction that the political situation must be stabilized as soon as possible. The president described privatization as the main cause of the dispute among the government coalition parties. He said that he was a critic of the present privatization method, which was unjust and planted the seeds for future social conflicts. He said that it was important for us to confirm the correctness of the path on which we embarked because 'trying something different would be hazardous.'"]

Slovakia: Meciar, Slota Quoted on Coalition Agreements

AU0107151696 Bratislava SME in Slovak 29 Jun 96 pp 1-2

[Article by "sp": "After More Than 10 Hours of Talks, Vladimir Meciar Announced That the Coalition Continues; Supplement to the Coalition Agreement Will Be Adopted"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Trencianske Teplice—The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS]-Association of Workers of Slovakia [ZRS]-Slovak National Party [SNS] coalition will continue, but a supplement to the coalition agreement will be adopted with the aim of forestalling possible misunderstandings. This was announced by Vladimir Meciar after more than 10 hours of talks between the coalition party leaders in the government villa at Trencianske Teplice. "Until the end of this month, and until 30 September, talks will be held on the search for a new mechanism of exchanges of opinion and cooperation," the HZDS chairman said. The reconstruction of bodies requiring approval by the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] should not take place this month, in his opinion, "because it is not well prepared, but only at the September NRSR meeting." It should be preceded by consultations between the coalition and the opposition.

At the 16th NRSR meeting [resuming on 1 July], the government coalition parties will support the inclusion of new items on the agenda: the territorial and administrative division, the jurisdiction law, and, following an analysis of the Council of Europe's standpoint, also the Penal Code amendment. "We are opposed to the reconstruction of National Property Fund [FNM] bodies taking place at this NRSR plenum," the HZDS chief noted. Regarding the possibility of expanding OKO [NRSR Special Supervisory Body overseeing the activity of secret services], SNS Chairman Jan Slota said: "Following the supplementing of OKO [with Party of the Democratic Left MP Sopko on 21 June], our demand has been partly fulfilled. Because politics are a matter of compromise, we have abandoned our demand for the reconstruction of FNM bodies at this NRSR meeting." As for the Slovenska Poistovna [Slovak Insurance Company] affair, Jan Slota said that he would not comment on it until the case had been solved by the appropriate authorities. The prime minister remarked with regard to this issue: "This problem does not exist among the parties in the form in which it recently appeared." Vladimir Meciar observed, however, that an inspection was currently under way in Slovenska Poistovna, the results of which would be used also in penalizing hidden transactions within financial institutions. Speaking about relations between the HZDS and the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL], the prime minister said that they would not develop badly. At the same time he appreciated the SDL's recent positions, and emphasized: "We are ready to negotiate and agree with the SDL as a political party, but not as an opposition spokesman."

Asked by SME for an assessment of the mutual trust within the coalition, following the series of statements by the leaders of individual coalition parties, the prime minister said: "What date is it today—28 June. You know, what do I care about what someone said on 27 June? I think the other chairmen can confirm that no one is overly worried about this." According to the HZDS chairman, the coalition parties expressed disagreement with the passage of an electoral law based on the majority principle. "However, this does not rule out a discussion on other forms of the electoral law." Jan Slota added in this context that they agreed on amending the law on local elections.

Slovakia: EU Officials View Compliance With Admission Rules

AU02070[illegible]96 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 Jun 96 pp 1, 20

[Interview with Michel Barnier, French minister for European affairs, and Werner Hoyer, German minister of state for foreign affairs, by Jan Skoda; place and date not given: "The Thread of Talks Must Not Be Broken"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Michel Barnier, French minister in charge of European affairs, and Werner Hoyer, German minister of state for foreign affairs, will arrive in Bratislava on Sunday night for a one-day working visit to inform Slovak representatives about the state of the Slovak Republic's admission into the EU. Prior to their trip, they granted our daily a joint interview.

[Skoda] Since the EU's first demarche of October 1995, Slovak Government representatives have frequently criticized the European Commission and EU member states because of insufficient communication at the highest level. What they mean is that, so far, Prime Minister Meciar has not met with European Commission Chairman Jacques Santer, nor with his counterparts from Germany, France, and other key EU countries. How do you want to help solve this dispute and assist direct dialogue between the two sides?

[Barnier] In contrast to what you are suggesting, we—that is, Germany, France, and other EU members, as well as the European Commission—intend to carry on the active political dialogue with the representatives of Slovakia. Our visit is proof of that. European Commission member Mr. Van den Broek visited Bratislava this March. As far as France is concerned, Mr. Meciar had a meeting with President Chirac during the [EU] summit at Cannes last year, and the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] chairman was in Paris one month ago.

[Hoyer] I can only subscribe to what my colleague just said. Prime Minister Meciar was in Germany twice in the last few months. We seek communication with the Slovak side because we set a great store by intensive dialogue on all problems related to Slovakia's moving closer to the EU. Political contacts, be it in our home countries or in the Slovak Republic, will, therefore, exist also in the future. The thread of talks must not be torn.

[Skoda] The EU's objections to Slovakia concerned the unfavorable state of democracy in Slovakia. Do you have the impression that the situation in Slovakia is changing for the better in this respect, that parliamentary democracy, pluralism, and human rights are being respected again?

[Barnier] Parliamentary democracy and pluralism exist in Slovakia, otherwise your country would not be an EU associate member. Associate membership means that, eventually, it will become a full-fledged member. It is true that the sharp tension that has surfaced not only between the government coalition and the opposition, but also between some institutions in Slovakia, has come as a surprise. Restrictive decisions regarding, for example, the registration of foundations, the declaration of a state of emergency, the spreading of false reports, or the status of minority languages, even if, on their own, they need not necessarily limit freedom, have created the impression, as a result of their accumulation, that transition in the direction of a law-governed state could be weakened. We have the feeling that Slovak representatives realize the concerns of the EU and of the public in our countries and that they will try to carry out the necessary adjustments.

[Hoyer] The European Commission will take into consideration all these aspects because the so-called Copenhagen criteria require the existence in the candidate countries of "institutions guaranteeing democracy, primacy of the law, human rights, and respect and protection of ethnic minorities." In other words, the EU Commission is to carry out some kind of a "democratic audit" of each candidate.

[Skoda] The tension in Slovakia between Prime Minister Meciar and President Kovac is incomprehensible for many people in the West, yet many Slovak representatives claim that such a relationship between two constitutional officials is a characteristic feature of the transforming societies in central and eastern Europe. Do you share this view?

[Hoyer] We do not want to interfere in relations between the leading politicians in Slovakia. It is evident, however, that an open conflict between constitutional officials negatively affects the country's outward image and can thus raise doubts about the democratic process on which the country has embarked. The EU expressed its position clearly on 25 October 1995 (date of issue of the EU demarche—editor's note).

[Barnier] We really have no intention of interfering in relations between the two highest ranking personalities of Slovakia, who deserve the greatest respect. The most important thing is that tensions that can arise between any head of state and the chief of his government, and which are natural also in many Western democracies, not function to the detriment of cohesion and the image of democracy in Slovakia.

[Skoda] Many Slovaks find it difficult to tolerate the great attention that the EU devotes to the position of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia. They claim that Slovakia greatly exceeds the European standard regarding the status of ethnic minorities and that there is, therefore, no reason to be concerned. How do you view this problem?

[Barnier] The institutional mechanisms and models of legal and administrative organization in France and Germany are very different, due to the very different history of the two countries. In spite of this, both our countries are equally convinced that the EU's expansion is conditional on an exemplary treatment of ethnic minorities by countries aspiring to be admitted into the EU. This is all the more favorable as the minorities issue features among the "Copenhagen criteria" for the admission of new members.

[Hoyer] We welcome the ratification of the Hungarian-Slovak basic treaty as a positive signal, also from this point of view. The treaty not only significantly contributes to improving bilateral relations between Slovakia and Hungary, but also to the stability of the region and the whole of Europe. The point at issue now is to implement the treaty in practical life. The cordial reception accorded to President Kovac in Hungary on 12 and 13 June was an encouraging signal that relations between the two countries are on a good track.

Slovakia: Ministry Hopes for More Intensive EU Relations

AU0107161896 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 28 Jun 96 p 5

["Statement by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic on Ireland's Chairmanship of the EU Council," issued in Bratislava; date not given]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic voices the conviction that in the second half of 1996, Ireland will successfully follow up on the activities of the previous chairmanships, confirm the trend of strengthening relations between the EU and the Slovak Republic as an associate country, and at the same time take specific steps to contribute to the further intensification of these relations.

The Slovak Republic's endeavor to join the EU is closely associated with the results of the Intergovernmental Conference, which is why the Conference is a subject of intense interest to Slovakia. We realize that the period of Irish chairmanship and the subsequent period of Dutch chairmanship will be crucial for formulating and adopting the conclusions of the Intergovernmental Conference. The Conference should give a reply to the question of the EU's deepening and expansion, and find a suitable constitutional framework corresponding to the conditions of the expanding Union. The results of the Conference should open the path for associate countries, so that talks on their admission into the Union can start as soon as possible after its conclusion. In this context the Slovak Republic considers it to be an important factor that the process of admission negotiations with all the associate countries start at the same time and under the same conditions.

The Slovak Republic assesses highly the decision of the Essen summit to give the associate countries a possibility to participate in a structured dialogue with EU member countries.

At the same time we appreciate the model of regular monthly meetings at the ministerial level started during the Italian chairmanship. Slovakia would welcome the continuation of this dialogue during the Irish chairmanship as well. At the same time, it would appreciate being informed not only about the results of negotiations, but also about the process preceding the adoption of individual conclusions. In the further process of the associate countries' integration into the EU, we attribute great importance to more frequent personal contacts among ministers, followed by an appropriate follow-up [previous word published in English]. We voice the conviction that during its chairmanship of the EU Council, Ireland will be interested in direct contacts with representatives of associate countries, and in getting to know their views.

The Slovak Republic will follow the proposed changes aimed at the EU's transformation, questions concerning the future existence of EU basic bodies and a balanced division of powers among them, as well as the methods of adopting serious decisions. The EU's expansion remains a question of priority for us. We proceed from the conviction that the EU's expansion will be beneficial for the entire continent, because it will enlarge the area of stability and will be positively reflected also in the economic development of the region.

Slovakia: Slovak UNTAES Commander on Situation, Tasks

AU0107153496 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 28 Jun 96 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Colonel Rostislav Smehlik, commander of the Slovak Sappers Battalion with the United Nations Transitional Administration in Eastern Slavonia, by Anton Fillo in Vukovar; date not given: "We Have Fulfilled the First 100 Tasks"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Fillo] Under UN Security Council Resolution No. 1037, the disputed territory of Eastern Slavonia is to be reintegrated into Croatia. How successful has this reintegration been?

[Smehlik] We are about halfway through. The 5,000-member contingent of UN multinational forces was established precisely to accomplish this task. So far, all the blue helmet units have assumed their positions in the demarcated area. The 140 km long and 30 km wide territory to the west of the Danube is under the control of UNTAES [United Nations Transitional Administration in Eastern Slavonia] peacekeeping units. Another stage—the demilitarization of the whole territory—ended a few days ago. It is premature to speak about the results, but it is already evident that tension in the region has subsided. During the preceding 30-day period, all heavy weaponry and combat equipment was removed from the entire territory and withdrawn to Serbia. Of course, the collection points where light weapons were to be concentrated—pistols, guns, and submachine guns from the local population—are empty. But that will be the business of 1,300 specially trained local and foreign policemen.

[Fillo] Where is our unit situated?

[Smehlik] A total of 600 soldiers, three-quarters of them reserve soldiers, are serving in the Slovak battalion. The battalion deployed in Eastern Slavonia is divided into three parts. The command and the staff are at Vukovar-Borovo. Two companies are 15 km to the north, at the former country estate of Marinovac. A third company is deployed even further to the north, on the other side of the Drava, at the abandoned country estate Brod Pustara.

[Fillo] What tasks have you been assigned by the UNTAES command?

[Smehlik] We have already fulfilled the first 100 tasks within the framework of our mission. First and foremost, the command is asking us to clear more and more stretches of land of mines. Some 1.5 million mines have reportedly been planted in the whole area. No one knows their exact number and location. The minefield plans have been lost in the course of the war, so that every area that is not designated as having been checked by mine-detectors must be considered mined. This is why I greatly respect the work of Lieutenant Peter Spernak's tank crews, which are clearing the area of mines in 30-degree heat, with the help of tanks with mine-clearing equipment. After the tanks, the whole area is inspected and checked again by members of First Lieutenant Jiri Kvasnicka's squad. Only then can the unit's commander issue a certificate that the area has been cleared of mines. After initial problems, two new "Bozena" mine detectors, a product of the Krupina Heavy Engineering Works, have at long last become involved in the mine-clearing work. So far we have cleared 1 million square meters of land of mines in Eastern Slavonia.

[Fillo] But the battalion's activity surely is not based on mine detection and clearance alone.

[Smehlik] We have 470 pieces of various equipment in the battalion. If we want our members to make efficient use of this equipment, each of them must be an expert in at least two specializations. The chief of the sappers' services within the UNTAES command is Colonel Lieutenant Vladimir Zbodak, a Slovak Army officer. He knows best the potential of our machinery and the abilities of Slovak soldiers, and he determines the priorities of our activity accordingly. For example, building units are helping to build camps for some components of the UNTAES command at Klisa, for Jordanian and Pakistani soldiers. Slovak Tatra truck drivers, in turn, are delivering building materials in various areas, while other groups are liquidating discovered ammunition.

[Fillo] Your sappers have built 31 bridges in the last three years. Will their number increase further?

[Smehlik] A few days ago we built a 58-meter pontoon bridge near the village of Nijemci, provisional traffic on which has already started. It was built right next to the structure of the old, destroyed bridge. The old bridge had been partly overhauled, but at present it no longer meets the increased requirements. Major

Lubos Klacka's squad has therefore dismantled the old structure. Room has thus been created for us to start in the coming days on the construction of our new MS-60 [expansion unknown] road bridge. A new connecting line on the Bosut River will thus be established at the beginning of July, which will reduce distances for all inhabitants of the southern part of Eastern Slavonia.

[Fillo] After five years of decline, life in Eastern Slavonia is beginning to return to normal. What role does your unit play in this process?

[Smehlik] We expect to become involved in specific assistance for the local population. For example, medical personnel from the Belgian, Jordanian, and Pakistani battalions have already started treating in their field hospitals people from the surrounding villages. We have received the order to make fuel available to local ambulances and school buses. We do not dissociate ourselves from any such work. Quite the contrary. Among the people inhabiting this territory are ethnic Slovaks who also went through many hardships. We want to help everyone according to our potentials, and live up to the humanitarian goals of our peacekeeping mission.

Slovakia: Expected FNM Changes Trigger 'Wild' Privatization

AU2806182496

[FBIS Report] Slovak newspapers from 25 to 27 June publish a number of reports and commentaries on the "wild privatization" activities of the National Property Fund (FNM), the "reconstruction" of which is the subject of current political negotiations. The papers pay particular attention to the sale of "remarkable" volumes of shares from the FNM portfolio on Friday, 21 June, the day when the National Council of the Slovak Republic (NRSR) was expected to discuss changes in the composition of the FNM Presidium and Supervisory Board. The discussion on personnel changes in the FNM was ultimately postponed at the proposal of the Party of the Democratic Left.

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 25 June on page 4 carries a 200-word commentary by Vladimir Tvaroska entitled "Privatizers Are in a Hurry." The commentary reads: "It has become a tradition in Slovakia that when the power ratio is changing, privatization is not only accelerated but runs wild. This tradition continues undisturbed even now, when it is obvious that changes in the composition of supreme FNM bodies have become inevitable. And because the ZRS-affiliated [Association of Workers of Slovakia-affiliated] FNM president is blocking direct sales, privatization is carried out through the RM-System [over-the-counter market]. Remarkable deals worth dozens of millions of korunas were made there on Friday. For example, 20 percent of the shares of Tesla Liptovsky Hradok changed hands, even twice, as did one-third of the shares of the Bratislava Gumon company. In the case of the Cosmos and INEGO companies, more than 50 percent of shares were traded. What exactly the FNM was selling will become clear only from the stock exchange listings today or tomorrow. Judging by the shares that the FNM owned, and by the low prices so characteristic of its sales, it is estimated that on Friday alone the FNM sold major stakes in 10 companies for close to 70 million korunas [Sk]."

Bratislava SME in Slovak on 25 June on page 2 carries a 300-word report by "rzi" entitled "21.5 Percent of Slovenska Poistovna Shares Sold Last Week." The report quotes Edita Bukovska, director general of Slovenska Poistovna (Slovak Insurance Company, SP) as saying that "the SP Board of Directors has information that 21.5 percent of the SP's equity was sold last week." The identity of the SP shares' new owner is not yet known, according to Bukovska, because the Securities Registration Center has not yet registered the deal.

Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY (BURZOVE NOVINY supplement) in Slovak on 26 June on page 1 carries a 500-word article by "al, mp" entitled "Big Friday on RM-System, But Not Just There." The report states that on Friday, 21 June, while the NRSR was approving an amendment to the law on strategic companies, which included four financial institutions, including the SP, among companies that must not be privatized, "interesting deals" in SP shares were being concluded on the over-the-counter market: "Three deals in SP shares were registered on the RM-System market. One with 232,841 shares at Sk2,150 per share, the second with 35,827 shares at Sk1,900 per share, and the third with 54,498 shares at Sk2,050 per share. Altogether, this represents 21.54 percent of the SP's basic capital. According to data of the Securities Registration Center, however, in the end only 17.91 percent of SP shares changed hands." The shares were reportedly purchased by a Kosice-based broker, the ARDS company, "one of the largest traders on the RM-System market. According to HOSPODARSKE NOVINY's information, ARDS is linked with East Slovak Iron Works [VSZ] Kosice, which is its most important client."

Bratislava PRACA in Slovak on 25 June on pages 1 and 2 carries a 1,000-word commentary by Ivan Spani entitled "Expensive Deputies and Wild Privatization." The commentary criticizes the amendment to the law on strategic companies, approved by the NRSR on 21 June, as "nonsense" because it was approved in such a way that it only prevents the sale of the four major financial institutions' real estate and equipment, but does not prevent the sale of their shares. As a result, bank shares that are in the FNM portfolio can, according to Spani, be sold "anonymously" on the RM-System market. Spani continues: "That this is not just a theoretical possibility is signaled by the transfers of property worth hundreds of millions of korunas made by the FNM with shares from its portfolio, without selling the shares directly (which would require the FNM Presidium's consent), in a public competition, or by offering them on the public capital market. The FNM is selling shares at the counter of the RM-System market in an anonymous continous auction. It offers the shares and 'anyone' can react to this offer at this very moment. But as the offers involve huge packages of shares, only those can react who know about the offer and are prepared for the purchase in advance, if we do not want to suggest that there was a prior agreement with the Fund's clerks or representatives. The FNM of the Slovak Republic does not announce its sales in advance, and makes virtually no use of public competition, in which it could choose the best out of several bids."

The latest examples of such "wild privatization," according to Spani, were the 21 June sales of 56 percent of INEGO Zilina shares, 52 percent of Cosmos Bratislava shares, 43 percent of IGHP Zilina shares, 40 percent of Geotechnika Spisska Nova Ves shares, 33 percent of Gumon Bratislava shares, 32 percent of Vzduchotechnicke Montaze Bratislava shares, 20.66 percent of Tesla Liptovsky Hradok shares, and 17.6 percent of Geotech Spisska Nova Ves shares. Spani points out that, although major, often controlling, stakes in the above companies were sold, the buyers were paying for them a price that was "the minimum price, or close to the minimum price, on the public market at the time."

Bratislava PRACA in Slovak on 27 June on pages 1 and 2 carries a 500-word article by "isp" entitled "On Friday, the FNM Was Really Selling Shares 'Anonymously.'" The article returns to the FNM's "anonymous sales of suspiciously large packages of shares" on the RM-System market on 21 June. It stresses that the FNM sold its entire share in the ownership of 10 companies that day, without using the method of public competition, without announcing the sale in advance, and avoiding the direct sale method, which would have required the FNM Presidium's consent. On the basis of data from the Securities Registration Center, the article also lists the shares' buyers, most of which are investment funds.

Writing on FNM activities in conjunction with the expected personnel changes in FNM bodies, some Slovak newspapers also allege that documents are currently being destroyed on a large scale in the FNM. According to a 200-word report on a Social Democratic Party of Slovakia (SDSS) briefing published in Bratislava SME in Slovak on 27 June on page 2, for example, SDSS Chairman Jaroslav Volf reportedly "asked the government coalition whether it was true that materials had been shredded en masse in the FNM in the last few days."

Slovakia: Almost 80% of Citizens Support Mochovce Completion

AU2806144896 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 19 Jun 96 p 2

[Article by Juraj Alner: "Safety Has Become Citizens' Foremost Concern Regarding the Development of Nuclear Energy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Whereas one year ago most respondents (41 percent) demanded the completion of the Mochovce nuclear power plant [EMO] and only 24 percent tied their support for its completion to the observance of western European safety standards, today 43 percent of citizens place emphasis on safety, and only 36 percent support completion without any further conditions. This transpires from a poll that was conducted by the Institute for Public Opinion Research of the Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic in May. The number of those who are of the opinion that EMO should not be completed remains the same (11 percent last year, 12 percent this year), but the percentage of those who were unable to form an opinion on the matter has drastically declined (from 24 to 9 percent).

Similar opinions were expressed by the respondents regarding the future of the V1 nuclear power plant at Jaslovske Bohunice.

Views on the V1 Nuclear Power Plant at Jaslovske Bohunice

	1995	1996
	Percent	
Should be kept in operation as long as it operates successfully and reliably	56	55
Should be put out of operation after EMO goes into operation	14	22
Should be put out of operation	6	13
Other replies	2	2
Unable to assess the issue	22	8

The table shows an increase in the number of those who support the closure of V1 after EMO's completion and of those who would like to close it even before that, while the number of those who are unable to assess the issue has significantly declined.

In a survey of views on the future direction of the development of the power industry in the Slovak Republic, the majority of respondents (50 percent, against last year's 47 percent) preferred hydroelectric power stations, while interest in alternative forms of energy came second (22 percent), and nuclear power came only third (8 percent). The interest of ethnic Hungarian citizens in hydroelectric power (only 29 percent supporters) was affected last year by the dispute over Gabcikovo. It seems that this dispute no longer plays a role, as this year 46 percent of ethnic Hungarians in the Slovak Republic supported hydroelectric power.

[Bratislava SME in Slovak on 19 June on page 3 carries a 150-word report by "r" on the above poll, which specifies that the poll was conducted on 20-29 May 1996 and involved a representative sample of 1,211 respondents.]

Slovakia: Daily Says Hungary's Goncz 'Insulted' Slovakia

AU0107100096 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 28 Jun 96 p 1

[Commentary by Dusan Slobodnik, chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic Foreign Affairs Committee: "Presidents' Dialogue in Front of Painting Celebrating Hungarian Invasion; How Arpad Goncz Informed Michal Kovac That He Knows Something About Slovaks, After All"]

[FBIS Translated Text] When I wrote in SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA some time ago [11 June] that, in his speech at the Sorbonne, Hungarian President Arpad Goncz did not even mention the existence of Slavs or Slovaks while enumerating the broad range of nations, tribes, and ethnic groups that had inhabited the area around the Danube prior to the arrival of the Magyars' ancestors here, I had no idea what sequel this would have. I did not know whether President Arpad Goncz would learn about the existence of the article in the first place and whether he would give a thought to how the ancestors of present-day Hungarians had assimilated a lot of terminology from the settled way of life—words like table, lunch, dinner, and so forth—from Slavic languages, a fact that testifies to the advanced civilization of those who had inhabited the area prior to the Magyars' arrival. It seems that the Hungarian Embassy informed President Goncz about the article's contents. According to newspaper reports on President Michal Kovac's visit to Hungary [on 12-13 June], his Hungarian counterpart had taken Michal Kovac to a picture of Hungarian painter M. Munkacsy and, standing in front of the picture, told him that, of course, he knew about the Slavs. It needs to be added, however, that, on the picture, Munkacsy had portrayed humiliated Slovaks as they paid tribute to the Hungarian conquerors. The painting's title is "Hungarian Victory!"

The fact that a picture is hanging in the ceremonial hall of the Hungarian president's office that shows humiliated Slavs is a matter of the Hungarian authorities' decision, although it illustrates the attitude of the Hungarian Castle landlords toward Slavs, and Slovaks, in particular. I understand that they do not wish to have there, for example, a scene from the 1526 Battle of Mohacs, which ended in the Magyars' humiliation at the hands of the Turks. What I do not understand, however, is the humiliation that President Goncz wanted to cause us by mentioning the Slavs in front of Munkacsy's painting, of all places. "Yes, I know about you, look how we humiliated you." This is approximately how one could decipher the message he wanted to get across to Michal Kovac. Such is the Magyar nation's haughty message for the population of the "Felvidek" [Upper Country, Hungarian term used for Slovakia prior to 1918, when it was part of Hungary]. And what I understand even less is that President Michal Kovac silently accepted such humiliation. His ancestors, too, were insulted; the entire Slovak nation was insulted. This apparently did not bother President Michal Kovac. And this is the saddest and most incomprehensible thing about the whole incident.

Slovakia: Romanies Fear Forced Sterilization of Women

AU0207101996 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 Jun 96 p 2

[Report by "ao": "Romanies Protest"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—"We reject commissions that will again order sterilization of Romany women, we reject people who, prior to November 1989, worked for more than 10 years on solving the so-called Gypsy issue and are again setting up commissions today, we refuse being misused by the government for its political aims," reads a statement that was provided to PRAVDA by the Romany Youth and Children Association in the Slovak Republic and the Forum of Romany Intelligentsia in Slovakia, adopted in protest against a government resolution of 30 April 1996. This supposedly discriminatory document assigns to the government commissioner for citizens requiring special assistance the task to set up at the Secretariat of the Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs, and the Family an expert commission to deal with aspects of population policy.

Hungary: Defense Official on Civilian Control, NATO

AU0107150096 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 29 Jun 96 p 6

[Interview with Imre Mecs, chairman of the parliamentary Defense Committee, by Frigyes Varju; place and date not given: "The Defense Ministry Is Unaware of Parliament's Importance"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Varju] The activities of the armed forces and of the Defense Ministry have been in the center of public interest in recent months. What is your opinion about this increased interest? Would you regard it as necessary to strengthen civilian control over the Army?

[Mecs] Politics should control the entire Army, and that is primarily the task of the defense minister and the Defense Ministry. At the highest level, the parliament and its Defense Committee exercise this right; at the same time, the president of the Republic and the press play a considerable role in creating this civilian control. As for civilian control over the Army, I think this should increase. There are legal frameworks for this because the Army can do nothing of its own will, and major steps require parliamentary approval. We do not, however, make proper use of this opportunity, and the Defense Ministry in particular is not fully aware of the parliament's importance. We must improve these things.

[Varju] One could feel some tension between the Defense Ministry and the Defense Committee before. Are there still differences of opinion? How can you improve the relations?

[Mecs] This tension is inherent in our activity, and originates from the fact that the regulations are not quite clear, so we interpret them differently. As a result the Defense Committee said that the plans to purchase T-72 tanks should have been coordinated with the committee in advance, and not presented as a fait accompli. There are debates between us on other issues, too, but we agree on basic issues. I could also say that we agree on 95 percent of the issues and disagree on 5 percent, but these are important and necessary debates. At our last meeting we decided on the need to jointly work out the interpretation of regulations regarding the deployment of Hungarian troops abroad. This will most probably lead to a considerable drop in tensions, and useless debates will be avoided. [passage omitted]

[Varju] According to some opinions, if Hungary becomes a NATO member an army of 45,000 troops will be sufficient for our defense. At the same time there is talk of omitting compulsory conscription from the new constitution. What is your opinion about all this?

[Mecs] The collective defense inherent in NATO membership represents the biggest security guarantee for Hungary, so after gaining membership we will adjust to NATO norms and the size of troops that prevails in western European countries. Then, naturally, a well-equipped army of 40,000-45,000 troops will be adequate and sufficient; we agree with this. The problem is that we must also guarantee Hungary's defense in the interim period, and we must also think about the possibility that we do not get accepted into NATO for some reason. In my opinion, of course, there are great chances for Hungary to become a full NATO member by 1999. As for the new constitution, the public is unfortunately not informed about the concepts because of the very loud and unilateral manifestations of public organizations that oppose compulsory conscription. The new constitution will continue to stipulate compulsory conscription, and this refers to every Hungarian citizen. [passage omitted]

The government program says that as soon as it is possible we will give up compulsory conscription, but the conditions for this must be created first, and it is not sure that this can be done sooner than in five or 10 years, because one of the major conditions for this is to provide more funds for the creation of a professional army. [passage omitted]

Hungary: Mine Clearance Starts in E. Slavonia on Border

LD0107165196 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1400 GMT 1 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The latest sign of a settlement in eastern Slavonia is that mine clearance has started along the Hungarian border section. Csaba Belenessy reports:

[Belenessy] The Slovak units of the international control group have been using remote control detectors to locate the mines. The work started over the weekend [29-30 June]. At present only the antipersonnel mines are being destroyed on the section between the border station of Udvari and the Danube River. The reason for the scene of the mine detection is probably the fact that the opening of the Udvari border station—which has been closed since the war—is becoming imminent as a result of the peaceful settlement of the Eastern Slavonian situation, although no final date has been set yet. When the clearance of antipersonnel mines is completed on this section, the region's clearance of antitank mines from the region and the examination of the entire border stretch will start. [passage omitted]

B-H: Muslim-Bosniak Commission Head Says 26 Croats Dead

LD0107091196 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 1 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] At the latest meeting of a group in charge of the search for missing persons, which includes all the parties to the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina and is chaired by Michael Steiner, the deputy to the coordinator of the international civilian operation in Bosnia, Amor Masovic, president of the Muslim-Bosniak commission for the exchange of the missing, has said that all of the 26 Bugojno [central Bosnia] Croats are dead. This was in answer to a question raised by Dragica Galic, president of the Association for the Missing of Herzeg-Bosna, whose husband is also on the list of the missing.

The statement was made in the presence of Michael Steiner and Marc Zassoli, a special envoy of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). Masovic also said that Dzevad Mlaco, the then-president of the War Presidency of the municipality of Bugojno, was personally responsible for this massacre.

B-H: Croats React to Hague Indictment of Dead Man

LD0107180496 Mostar Croatian Radio Herceg-Bosna in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 1 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Now we have something about problems concerning the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation. How the Muslim authorities have become quite skillful in inventing crimes allegedly committed by the Croats while the so-called independent courts take all that for granted is best demonstrated by the example of an indictment against a man who never took part in the war, but who lived abroad and died last year. Zvonimir Cilic reporting from Vitez:

[Cilic] There is no end to the stormy reaction from the Croats of Vitez, of the Lasva valley, and the whole of central Bosnia to the latest indictment to be issued by the Hague war crimes tribunal, which accuses eight Croats of Vitez for alleged war crimes. The indicted group includes Stipo Alilovic who left Vitez in April 1993 and died of lung cancer on 17 October 1995, in Holland, where, ironically, he has been accused of war crimes. In the time between leaving Vitez and his death, he never returned to Bosnia-Herzegovina. In order to allay passions and people's indignation provoked by the indictment, the municipal authorities and the leadership of the Croatian Democratic Union in Vitez held an emergency session today to discuss the political and security situation in the light of the latest indictment. It was agreed that the situation had worsened as a result. The Muslim side was accused of resorting to various tricks with the help of some international institutions in order to heighten tensions between the Croats and Muslims in the area, thus putting obstacles in the way of the efforts to implement the Federation. The Hague tribunal was described as playing politics, biased and not serious, and the blunder with the indictment of an innocent and dead man was seen as inappropriate and impermissible even for a low-level court. We do not trust such a court and will seek protection from this kind of justice, it was said at the session. It was agreed that an open letter should be sent to the top authorities in the Republic of Croatia and all relevant international institutions in order to draw attention to the bias and unprofessional attitude of the court in The Hague and the lack of foundations for the latest indictment. [passage omitted]

B-H: Bosnian Party Condemns Cooperation With Hague

LD2106165496 Sarajevo BH PRESS in Serbo-Croatian 1410 GMT 21 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 21 Jun (BH PRESS)—The Bosnian Democratic Union believes that cooperation of the Bosnian authorities with the Hague tribunal and extradition of "our" boys to The Hague are inadmissible, making Bosnia-Herzegovina equal in crime to those who carried out aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina and committed unprecedented crimes, it was said at the Bosnian Democratic Union news conference held in Sarajevo today.

Nedzad Kulenovic, the Bosnian Democratic Union deputy chairman, said, elaborating on his party's views, that history had recorded no cases of victims being on trial for war crimes. Recalling the destruction of many German cities at the end of World War II when many civilians were killed, too, as well as the example of Israel, which even now, on a pretext of defending itself, shelled bases where civilians had taken refuge without anyone being made responsible for the crimes, Kulenovic pointed out that only in the case of Bosniaks was the international community using different standards of justice.

The Bosnian Democratic Union believes that Federal President Kresimir Zubak is responsible for the "revival" of the government of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia. The party's chairman, Hamdija Surkovic, said that in the two years of the federation's existence nothing had been done to strengthen it and that it will be a moral move on the part of Zubak and Ejup Ganic, the federal president and vice president, if they resigned. Surkovic said that the Bosnian Democratic Union had no information proving that [Bosnian foreign minister] Jadranko Prlic was involved in the constitution of Herzeg-Bosnia's government, but if such information existed, his party supported the demand that Prlic be replaced.

The Bosnian Democratic Union condemned the attack on Haris Silajdzic, the chairman of the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina, and demanded that Federal Interior Minister Avdo Hebib step up prevention of such occurrences.

In a statement from today's news conference, the Bosnian Democratic Union called on the citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina—Bosnian Serbs, Bosnian Croats, and Bosnian Muslims—to work on reconciliation, mutual trust, coexistence, and a new democratic shape for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

B-H: Muratovic Asks Slovenia About Decision on Visas

AU2706144796 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 27 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Following the decision of the Slovene Government to introduce visas for the citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Prime Minister Hasan Muratovic has sent a letter to Slovene Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek, which states the following:

Our country has received with a surprise the news that the Slovene Government has introduced visas for the citizens Bosnia-Herzegovina. I believe you are familiar with the negative reaction of the citizens of both countries. [Words indistinct] reasons that led your government to make this sudden decision, which was made without the prior and customary consultations with the Government and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Embassy of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Ljubljana, we take the view that this decision runs counter the talks and bilateral meetings that we have been holding continuously with the high and the highest representatives of the Republic of Slovenia.

The Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina takes the view that this decision is not in line with the interests of the two countries' citizens. It will especially affect the return of our refugees and the elections, which are being organized by the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] with the assitance of the international community as a whole. This will most certainly adversely affect the further development of economic cooperation between our two countries and the deeper involvement of the Slovene economy in the programs of reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina still believes that there are objective reasons for the introduction of the visa-free regime between our two countries. In view of this, we expect your government to change its decision. Until then, I must conclude with great regret that we have been forced to introduce reciprocal measures. Be assured that the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina will do everything it can to improve relations and cooperation between our two countries.

This was stated in the letter that Prime Minister Muratovic has sent to Janez Drnovsek.

B-H: Cabinet Discusses SFRY Succession, Assets

AU2806191096 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 28 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] At today's session of the government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina chaired by Prime Minister Hasan Muratovic, much attention was dedicated to issues in the field of international cooperation. The debate focused on a proposal of further strategy pursued by the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the process of the succession to the former SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] and the criteria for the distribution of assets. It was assessed that it is necessary to accelerate the process of succession, particularly in terms of the harmonization of attitudes between the representatives of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], Slovenia, and Croatia, as well as with the successor state [as heard], whose cooperation in the activities so far was assessed as successful. The basic stance is that the distribution of the assets that are not disputed should start as soon as possible. In terms of the protection of the assets that are to be distributed, the government supports the freezing of funds of the former SFRY deposited in international banks and other financial institutions, and a blockade on the further sale of property by the FRY. At this meeting, an economic policy program was discussed, proposed by the World Bank as the platform for a long-term economic strategy for Bosnia-Herzegovina. This proposal will be discussed further during the forthcoming visit by a delegation of the World Bank to Bosnia-Herzegovina. The proposal of an agreement on the settlement of proprietary-legal relations between the governments of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia was adopted, too. In accordance with the established policy on diplomatic-consular missions in our country, the government endorsed the demand of the Iranian Embassy to open a consulate general of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Mostar. At the same time, the government accepted the invitation of the German federal chancellor, Helmut Kohl, for Bosnia-Herzegovina to take part at the world exhibition EXPO 2000 in Hanover, and also established that it is necessary to draw up schemes for the participation by Bosnia-Herzegovina companies at this exhibition, reads the statement for public from the government's session today.

B-H: Assembly's Failure To Pass Basic Laws Viewed

AU2206210196 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian) in Serbo-Croatian 21 Jun 96 p 2

[Commentary by Sejad Luckin: "Disagreement From the Beginning"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The constitutive assembly session, which lasted three weeks over three separate meetings, has concluded, yet the federation does not have the basic acts required by its authorities to function. First of all, the famous defense law, which has turned into an insurmountable barrier to any new steps in the federation, has not been adopted. And not only has it not been adopted, but the representatives went home for a 20-day recess with only weak hopes that the agreed text of the law will come before them during their next session.

The representatives have probably gone home with the feeling that, after eight hours of debate, the gap between Bosniaks and Croats is much wider than it was on Wednesday at 1100, when they entered the assembly hall in Sarajevo to finish the third part of the last session of the federal parliament. It turned out that the trenches from which they shoot at one another with national interests are too deep and cannot be jumped out of so easily.

Partners Under Pressure

The defense law—with all respect for the necessity of its adoption, but also for the issues that it regulates—is really only the tip of the iceberg in terms of the misunderstandings between the political leaders of the two nations, which have existed for more than two years now. The differences between them were clear in those eight hours of debate, as were the mutual accusations as to who is more to blame and which nation (and where) harasses the other nation more.

The controversial Ivan Bender admitted at one point that they had not entered the federation of their own free will and that it had been created exclusively under the pressure of the international community. That statement contains all the reasons for two-year-old misunderstandings, including those for the unsuccessful talks on the defense law, which have been going on for nearly a month.

Whether it is accidental or intentional is unimportant, but Bender looks for the roots of misunderstanding in the beginning of the aggression on Bosnia-Herzegovina. The next unclear step in the relations between Croats and Bosniaks is their war. Neither in the former and nor in the latter case are the two sides capable of crystallizing the truth, which they could then consider as common. Without that, it is obvious that any step forward within the federation is impossible.

It could be proved in many examples that the federation exists only as a simple sum of two completely autonomous national wholes. It is enough to start from its top, the parliament. The clubs of representatives are not based on party membership but on nationality, and the easiness with which agreements are reached within the clubs, regardless of political differences, when it is necessary to parry the interests of the other nation is amazing. The principle of opposite, rival national clans has been established atop the federation pyramid.

The second example could be the president and the vice president of the federation. When Kresimir Zubak spoke in April about the situation in the federation, Bosniaks objected that he expressed his personal impressions so that the parliament only "heard" his report. Two months later, the same thing happened to Ejup Ganic, whose evaluations of the situation in the federation are for Croats partial and subjective. Eventually, his report was also "heard."

There is also a third example. For Bosniaks, the formation of the new government of "Herzeg-Bosnia" is nothing but confirmation of the insincerity of Croats in supporting the federation. For Croats, however, it is the distribution of power and of "Herzeg-Bosnia" to the segments where the federation is inefficient. The example of the federal police, which has still failed to get organized, is also illustrative. One can continue listing examples all the way to the divided Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO [Croatian Defense Council].

Mirsad Ceman, secretary general of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] and a representative in parliament, believes that the decisionmaking process in the assembly and the possibility of parrying any initiative with national interests are big obstacles to the efficacy of the biggest legislative body of the federation.

But when the three opposition parties unite and demand the removal of the president and the vice president of the federation as an incentive to solve the misunderstandings, not as a verdict upon the two politicians who perform those functions, the representatives from the SDA and the HDZ easily unite. Paradoxically, they do not do it because they think the same but because with such a move they do not want to admit their own guilt.

For example, Ceman says that Ganic cannot be as responsible as Zubak. He explains that Zubak is the president of the federation, that he is on top of the pyramid of executive power, and thus he should be the first to suffer the consequences for what has not been done. Further, he says that Zubak breached the agreement on the termination of "Herzeg-Bosnia" and he announces that the SDA, unless there are signals for its termination, will demand the removal of the president of the federation.

Two Ways

But Croats are not without arguments, either. In parliament, it was precisely Kresimir Zubak who posed the question of whether one can trust the validity of Ejup Ganic's signature on agreements if he is incapable of realizing what they have signed among themselves or with the help of international representatives. That is what Defense Minister Vladimir Soljic sees as the reason why the defense law has still not been agreed upon. The epilogue is that both Zubak and Ganic remain in their posts because the removal of only one of them will instantly turn into an endangerment of national interest.

Has the federation, because of that exclusiveness, really reached a crossroads, as was the title of OSLOBODJENJE's report on the session of the federal parliament? That is, will it choose a path that could be a common path, or will everyone go their own way? It is superfluous to explain what the latter solution means, just as it is clear the former would be the first precondition for an integrated Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is up to the political leaders of the peoples to judge. However, they do not have much time to make the final decision. And they must not forget that their indecisiveness could be the best argument for the Serbs to completely secede from Bosnia-Herzegovina after the September elections. Assuming, of course, that that is not precisely their intention.

B-H: Changes in Intelligence, Police Discussed

96BA0359B Sarajevo SLOBODNA BOSNA in Serbo-Croatian 29 May 96 pp 8-9

[Article by Adnan Buturovic: "What Do Personnel Changes in AID and MUP Mean: Dial M(uslimovic) for Personnel Changes?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *After Avdo Hebib and Kemal Ademovic replaced Bakir Alispahic in the MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and AID [Agency for Investigation and Documentation], a true "plague" on Alispahic's people took place in both institutions. Did the United States ask the Bosnian authorities for that too?*

At the beginning of this month, when in days of yore the communist police prepared to receive praise and get good and drunk on 13 May without fear of sudden changes and "heads rolling," the present-day Bosnia-Herzegovina police was subjected to a major personnel spectacle. Was it fundamental as well? At first glance, nothing should come as a surprise here, because a change in the minister of police has always been accompanied by the appointment of new people to the service; however, it has rarely been the case that all the key people have been removed in one fell swoop, and from the services of State Security at that. In his day, Josip Broz [Tito] got rid of Aleksandar Rankovic, but he got rid of the rest of his team gradually, so that they could see "which way the wind has been blowing the whole time."

Reports on personnel changes at the Agency for Investigation and Documentation (AID) indicating that former director Bakir Alispahic left at the unconditional demand of the United States followed by, logically, "all of Bakir's people" seem logical now. However, perhaps the events and personnel shifts at the AID should be considered on equal footing with the changes in the federal MUP.

The new minister could not rise to the same "echelon" as Alispahic, not even under miscellaneous, because of various mutual reproaches dating back to the beginning of the war. In mid-1993, immediately after Alispahic was appointed minister, he fired Hebib from the post of special advisor to the MUP. News of his firing reached Hebib in Zenica, and they say that he wept upon hearing it. Later, Alispahic also forced out a number of other police officials, including Ismet Dahic, Munir Alibabic, and Dragan Vikic. Hebib and Dahic moved to the Ministry of Defense, but their influence over the police and military services at the time was in every regard minor in relation to Alispahic's position. In the spring of 1996, the situation was reversed, in favor of these other men. Who is responsible?

Results of Factional Fighting

The national weekly LJILJAN, which is closest to the SDA [Party of Democratic Action], sharply criticized the changes in the AID, raising the following question in one of its numerous articles on this subject: "Under whose orders and why are old communist personnel who persecuted Muslims and every free thought, and who staged political trials, being brought back to the MUP?"

It is known that the AID was created by a decision by the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, so that it is logical to expect that the Presidency also decides about personnel questions in the intelligence agency. However, the changes in the AID were never considered at sessions of the Presidency, and in this way some of its members, such as Nijaz Durakovic and Ivo Komsic, heard only rumors about it and learned the full report on the new appointments and firings from the media. Who then carried out the changes?

In an interview with state television, Minister Hebib said that President Izetbegovic, Vice President Ganic, and Prime Minister Kapetanovic were consulted regarding the personnel changes in the MUP. Although he dodged the question about the changes in the AID, it is very unlikely that those same people were not asked about the appointment of the agency's acting director, Kemal Ademovic, and his assistants.

Another personnel "point," the Executive Committee of the SDA, of which Alispahic is a member, did not consider the decision on personnel changes at the AID. A possible background to all these events is the end of the SDA internal party struggle, which resulted in the appointment of Hebib as head of the MUP and Ademovic as director of the AID.

Because of all these factors, to what extent is this a matter of professionalizing the agency and how much is it factional back-room dealings? Let us look first at who the people who have "reinvigorated" the AID are. Ademovic's first deputy, Borisa Delic, is an old hand at state security. He once worked in tandem with Slobodan Skipin, who in the mid-1980's was head of the SDB [State Security Service] in Sarajevo, and before the war was an SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] protege at the MUP, which earned him the post of head of Karadzic's SDB. According to insiders, Delic's specialty is political manipulation and combating "internal enemies," which he demonstrated during the investigation and trial of Alija Izetbegovic and his group at the Sarajevo proceedings. During the war, he distinguished himself through his impropriety in investigating Sefer Halilovic, who also went public with that last year in the Sarajevo monthly DANI. The second deputy, Asim Dautbasic, was identified in LJILJAN as an associate of (pre)war minister Alija Delimustafic. He, together with Mesud Omerspahic, the chief of staff of the current minister (who had the same job under Delimustafic), was allegedly in charge of paving the way for the future commercial transactions of the Cenex magnate at the MUP and AID. Talk of the influence of Delimustafic's people was also reinforced by the affair involving the spoiled Cenex food that was found in packages for police employees.

However, Asim Dautbasic was one of the few associates of Delimustafic to come out against him. Moreover, Minister Hebib would not allow Delimustafic's people in his office either. At one point, Delimustafic accused Hebib of invoking war in Bosnia, because of which he was removed from the post of deputy minister for police affairs in late 1991.

In an interview with a journalist from Bosnia-Herzegovina Television, Minister Hebib also stated that the road was open for the "development of federal police and a professional ministry of police." Although the AID is an institution not of the Federation, but rather of the Republic, there are signs that personnel of the Croat federal partner could soon be filling positions in the intelligence agency. How can that be? Over the next month, a law on AID activity is supposed to be enacted by the republican parliament in which one variant is that the agency be placed under the control of the federal police ministry. In this way, the AID would become a federal institution, which would cause the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] to stop challenging its legitimacy.

"Raid" of Bezdrob's Office

Is the dismissal of Enes Bezdrob as head of the CSB [expansion not given] Sarajevo a constituent element of the tale of personnel changes in the MUP and AID? It is indicative that his position is to be occupied by Ismet Dahic, whom Bezdrob confronted back while Dahic was a commander and he was head of the SJB [Public Security Service] of Stari Grad. Dahic, who after being dismissed from his post in the 1st Corps in the summer of 1994 moved to the Ministry of Defense, where he worked with Hebib, is unquestionably a policeman who enjoys Hebib's confidence. The federal minister has a full legal right to appoint the head of the CSB Sarajevo until that post is turned into a function of the canton minister. Specifically, Hebib availed himself of Article 49 of the Law on Sarajevo Canton Ministries, under which during the transitional period, until the canton's police forces are established, the Federal Ministry has jurisdiction over the CSB.

After he dismissed Bezdrob and appointed Dahic as his successor, Minister Hebib formed, at the end of last week, a commission that was supposed to go into Bezdrob's office, deliver the decision to him, and produce a record of the situation found there. However, Bezdrob had locked his office and left for a meeting with Carl Bildt, so that the commission broke down the door and entered the office of the head of the CSB Sarajevo, and according to Bezdrob he learned of the decision to transfer him to the post of deputy minister of police at the meeting with the high representative of the international community for Bosnia-Herzegovina. He also stated that the president of Sarajevo Canton, Sabira Hadzovic, promised him the post of canton minister. However, by doing this President Hadzovic would have, first of all, violated the Law on Ministries, since the canton government has not been officially formed;

second, she would have run afoul of the SDA political faction currently working on police reassignments.

The MUP calls all these changes in the police essential, as a break with the centers of power that, during the war, very often functioned on their own, without the consent of higher political authorities. It is very possible that the pretext for such a drastic cut into the heart of the Bosnia-Herzegovina police and security structure was, judging from all indications, the obvious loss of face associated with the assassination attempt against Fikret Abdic. The amateurism demonstrated there is almost astonishing for a country and its police. During a recent visit to Sarajevo, Croatian Minister of Foreign Affairs Granic sharply criticized the Bosnian authorities for exporting terrorism to a neighboring state. On the other hand, there are also those who see this more as an effort to "camouflage" the situation, especially with regard to the Americans, which is also not a prudent approach (one need only recall the experience of Christopher's visit to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, when he questioned the former minister of police, for the second time, with regard to whether he had "broken off ties with the mojahedin," to which he received an affirmative response, after which the signal was given for the commencement of the action against the MUP camp in Pogorelica). The United States has been present in Bosnia-Herzegovina with its intelligence services for too long for such a big thing to be covered up, but perhaps that is also why there remain so many dilemmas concerning personnel changes in the security and police services!

[Box, p 8]

Why Were Mujezinovic and Ljevakovic Dismissed?

One of the first intelligence figures that the SDA appointed to high-ranking positions in the security system as its own reliable and competent staff, and who was eventually appointed deputy director of the AID, electrical engineer Irfan Ljevakovic, has now been displaced in favor of Ademovic's advisor. However, that does not mean that he has been completely removed from the ruling intelligence establishment. Informally, Ljevakovic was actually an assistant to Nedzad Ugljen of Mostar, who before the war was deployed to help in defending his home town and who turned up in Sarajevo before the end of 1991, where he had no assignment for several months, and then joined the ranks of the MUP Special Units.

Behind these two dismissed security officials was Irfan's close relative Zijad Ljevakovic, a member of the SDA Executive Committee and also an imam, a former religious education officer in the Islamic Religious Community and during the war an assistant to General Fikret Muslimovic in the Morale Office of the Army General Staff. This is the man whose word was final regarding the installation of the heads of the State Security Service and Army, and who brought both Enver Mujezinovic and Fikret Muslimovic into those structures.

When suspicions arose during the second year of the war about infiltration of the MUP SDB by the Serbian KOS [Counterintelligence Service], certain leaders of the MUP and their contacts with SVB [expansion not given] officers, especially the 1st Corps, began to be monitored. That was when Zijad Ljevakovic ordered Ugljen and his relative Irfan to investigate and eliminate the KOS presence, but given the large number of actors they did not succeed in bringing this to a head. All of this began to unfold after the arrest of KOS major Sead Rekic (now an officer with the 3d Corps), an intelligence officer with the code name "Poison," who is said to have done a good job in thwarting and ruining the first plan to lift the siege of Sarajevo.

Nevertheless, the dismissal of Enver Mujezinovic seems to be of critical importance. Certainly a most flexible and enduring operative, which he has been since 1981, he worked with Aleksandar Vasiljevic (a current advisor to Slobodan Milosevic for Serbian national security affairs) on the frenzied pursuit of Albanians; i.e., he was concerned with "matters of counterreveolutionary activity."

Mujezinovic arrived from Belgrade in May 1992 as a KOS major, and it remains unclear how he entered the besieged city and who sent him to Zijad Ljevakovic. At that time, he was appointed to the post of deputy minister of defense for security. His associates were full of praise for the man who works, on average, 18 hours a day. Sources close to the operations division of the SDB allege that Mujezinovic was responsible for many omissions in providing complete information to the state leadership about Srebrenica and Zepa, even though his intelligence network covered the headquarters of the UN troops, the UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees] and various humanitarian organizations.

Director Ademovic offered Mujezinovic a more active role in the agency, but he turned him down because of what were for him "unacceptable conditions," so that he was appointed to the position of pro forma advisor.

The dismissals of AID secretaries Sefik Dzaferovic, Joze Jozic, Dragan Medjovic, and Zlatko Sehovic are final and the majority of them have expressed a desire to move to the private sector.

B-H: Delic Notes Army's Restructuring, Professionalization

AU0107154696 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 1 Jul 96

[Report by Irfan Calo on an address by Army General Rasim Delic, chief of General Staff of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, at an awards ceremony to mark the 4th anniversary of the formation of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army in Sarajevo on 1 July—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Calo] The Bosnia-Herzegovina Armed Forces awards went to the B-H PRESS news agency, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army magazine PRVA LINIJA, the Gazi-Husrevbey School of Islamic Studies, the independent Hajat Television, and OSLOBODJENJE reporter Sefko Hodzic.

At the ceremony, the award recipients were addressed by Army General Rasim Delic, chief of General Staff of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. Expressing his satisfaction on the occasion, Gen. Delic thanked the representatives of the media for their coverage of Army activities over the last four years, and added:

[Delic] I can tell you that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army is now again waging a significant struggle, a struggle concentrated on its own restructuring, as we have envisaged it. A large war army with over 200,000 troops is to be transformed into a smaller army, which I hope will soon become a Federation army—I hope the conditions will be created for that—whose task it will be to prevent any surprises, to secure the implementation of the peace process and peace in this region, and to become the base for the mobilization of the war army if the need arises. This army has to act as an deterrent force in case of aggression. This army has to act as support for the war army in carrying out possible combat operations.

In this respect, we still need the help of the media, in the sense that we need to promote the people that are taking the new path, both the soldiers and the officers that are taking the path of commitment to a professional army. Many members of the army have to be promoted, people that even now are working on their own infrastructure, on the construction of the barracks, facilities, on training, and that is why our cooperation, a correct cooperation I would say, is still very important to us, and we will continue to inform the media as much as possible about the developments in the army.

[Calo] The representative of the Gazi-Husrevbey School of Islamic Studies thanked the Army on the behalf of the recipients of the awards.

B-H: Defense Ministry Decries Reckless Spending

96BA0359A Sarajevo SLOBODNA BOSNA in Serbo-Croatian 29 May 96 p 7

[Article by Senad Avdic: "How 1st Corps Blew a Half-Million Marks on Cars: Ajnadzic Among Chevrolets!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Why Deputy Minister of Defense Hasan Cengic is seeking charges against the 1st Corps commander.*

Fifteen days ago, the deputy minister of defense in the Federation government, Hasan Cengic, sent a harsh letter to the Command of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina 1st Corps that began by noting that a month earlier the Ministry had asked, by way of the Army's General Staff, that Brigadier Nedzad Ajnadzic, the commander of the 1st Corps, be called to account. Cengic's letter says that this is the result of "a number of unauthorized, illegal, and uneconomical actions and activities concerning the procurement of motor vehicles." The deputy minister notes that by law the Ministry of Defense (as the central materiel-financing institution) is exclusively authorized to procure automobiles, and that the Corps Command is certainly not authorized to do so.

Cold Beers and Lada Nivos

This letter from Cengic is a continuation of several months of correspondence between the Federation Ministry of Defense and the 1st Corps Command. It began in February of this year when the finance office of the Ministry of Defense reacted stormily to a request from the 1st Corps Command that 13 automobiles procured by that corps be exempted from trade tax payment. This involved 11 luxury Chevrolet Blazers with an average price of around $30,000, and two Lada Nivos costing $7,500 each. It is interesting that the 1st Corps purchased these automobiles at the end of last year and the beginning of this year, and thus during peacetime, when under the Dayton annexes the amount of both personnel and materiel was supposed to be reduced. The total price paid for these 13 vehicles is in the range of 450,000 German marks [DM]!

It is likely that the Ministry of Defense would never have learned of this transaction if it were not solely responsible for approving tax exemptions. This appropriation for cars, which is fabulous under Bosnian conditions, upset people at the Ministry, so that they began digging around for documentation and found that only six months earlier the 1st Corp Command had purchased another 12 Lada Nivos and "blown" another DM150,000 on them!

At that point, the finance office of the Ministry of Defense turned this time to Deputy Minister Hasan

Cengic, pointing out this unheard-of wastefulness by people in the 1st Corps. In that letter, Cengic was reminded that the Ministry of Defense itself is deeply in debt to suppliers; at that point, the Ministry's debt exceeded DM13 million as well as 329 million Bosnian dinars.

Presidency Voted Against the Law

Let us leave aside this correspondence for a moment. It is pointless to discuss the morality of 1st Corps leaders who, at a time when 99 percent of the former soldiers of that military formation do not have a dime, spend hundreds of thousands of marks on the comfort of the seats under their fat asses. Quite simply, there can be no talk of morality here, which these same people also confirmed several times during the course of the bloody war.

The question that arises is how it is even possible for such people, governed by their own conscience and primitive greed, to have so much money at their disposal without any societal control and responsibility. Who allowed this, and on the basis of what law? Immediately we have the answer: They were allowed to do this by the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, when it decided in September of last year to create a special item in the Republic's budget that placed the Army in a completely independent position as regards spending. In this way, the Presidency not only suspended all civilian control over the Army's expenditures (marginalizing the Ministry of Defense most of all); it also directly violated several provisions of law, those provisions that designate the Ministry of Defense as the central financial institution. However, under strong and frequent pressure from the General Staff, the Presidency agreed to let the General Staff function as an independent spending unit for budget funds. On the basis of this, the General Staff is in a position to spend funds and plan acquisitions without anyone's approval, which has resulting not only in overlap with the Ministry of Defense, but also in the complete exclusion of the government and its ministries from decisionmaking on essential questions in the Army. Mostly because of this, the Ministry's financial plan for the last quarter of last year fell by DM60 million. It can be assumed that those funds were passed to the "zone of responsibility" of the General Staff! This can be seen from the quality and number of automobiles in front of the headquarters of the glorious liberation army!

B-H: Veteran Criticizes War Profiteers in Bihac Region

AU2706114196 Sarajevo VECERNJE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 20 Jun 96 p 4

[Commentary by Izet Perviz: "Profiteers and Bandits, not 'Hamas'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] An article entitled "Silajdzic Beaten Up in Cazin" was published in the 16 June edition of VECERNJE NOVINE. The independent group "Hamas" from Coralic and other villages from Cazin, which contributed to the destruction of Abdic's clique and the defeat of Cazin autonomy supporters, was mentioned as the probable organizer of the attack.

I hope that many things will be mentioned in the future in connection with the four-year war in the Cazin region and especially in connection with the local conflicts between the nations. I believe that historians and participants in all these events will succeed in solving the Cazin problem and disclosing everything to the public and history.

On Behalf of Fellow Soldiers

It is not my aim to make anyone famous with this article, which was inspired by the fact that a military group was given an important role. My only wish and interest is to speak—on my own behalf and those of my fellow soldiers whose deaths are being manipulated today—about those who, while we were suffering in the trenches on Mt. Grmec, killing our brothers, were engaged in black-marketeering. Those who, while thousands of my fellow soldiers lie under the ground, want to retain the power that they have seized by attacking Cazin intellectuals like rabid dogs.

It is clear to these political adventurers, with their pockets stuffed with hard currency made from war profiteering, who bribed the whole city and held the whole municipality in fear, that the democratic elections will push them into the background of political and all other events. Therefore they are ready to attack not only democracy, but also almost 1,000 Cazin graves, the three Cazin brigades, and the idea of Bosnia.

What is "Hamas"?

"Hamas," or "Hizballah," is a group of political agitators and war profiteers, who manipulate a small number of 5th Corps soldiers, predominantly members of the Cazin MOS [expansion unknown], and carry truncheons instead of guns and reign supreme on the streets of Cazin.

"Hamas" and "Hizballah"

Whenever "Hamas" is mentioned, every 5th Corps soldier feels humiliated and worthless. Every one of us asks himself: "What should the whole thing mean?" "What does the 5th Corps need an armed group for?" "Why should Cazin, which has three brigades and contributes men to all the other 5th Corps brigades, need a thing like 'Hamas'?"

After "western Bosnia" [Abdic's parastate] was proclaimed in autumn 1993, dramatic times began in Cazin. There was confusion and events unfolded in a tumultuous way. In this situation, there appeared a group of people with truncheons, who started "measuring the kidneys" of everyone who tried to express opinions other than those dictated by the ruling party. People were beaten up in broad daylight and intellectuals were arrested (one professor was locked in a cellar full of water for a whole day). A 100-meter-long gauntlet of men was lined up in front of the Ministry of Internal Affairs building. The Cazin intellectuals were forced to run this gauntlet and were beaten with truncheons as they ran toward a bus that was to take them to Bihac prison. At that time, it was enough to point out someone as being an autonomy supporter for him to be beaten up with a truncheon in the middle of the street.

Everyday life in Cazin forced more than half of the people to join Abdic. The leading "truncheon" people became chairmen of local associations. Mostly uneducated, with narrow horizons, they were easily manipulated. They were rewarded for a job well done by taking over almost the entire Cazin leadership. One of them became the head of the local Ministry of Internal Affairs, another the chief of police, and some of them SDA [Party of Democratic Action] representatives on local authorities. And they called themselves local gods.

A Private Army

"Hizballah" was established a year later in autumn 1994. Their commander regularly appeared on local television. Their broadcasting time was three times longer than of any of the three Cazin brigades. Their commander called himself a commander, although he had only 50 people under him. It was quite clear that the 5th Corps did not need such a group. It was established simply because the head of the municipal authority, a SDA representative, wanted to establish "an army" and become a "commander."

The establishment of "Hizballah" was supported by a high-level officer from the 5th Corps, the second man in the corps, who was a personal friend of the municipal authority head. He was often seen in bars drinking with the "commander." This police commander was appointed his deputy. They publicly declared themselves as a group of volunteers, although most of their members were mobilized by an order stamped by the municipal authority and many simply by an order without a stamp or a signature. The corps officer came somehow across some weapons and armed the group better than any commando unit from Cazin. I do not want to speak about their participation in the struggle against autonomy, because of those who lost their lives in that group. The group did not exist for long, primarily because it was opposed by the commander of the famous 503d Mountain Brigade. He eventually had them disarmed and they were disbanded at his request.

All this leads to the conclusion that this was a paramilitary group whose members could only die on behalf of their "commander" and his deputy, in order to enable them to do what they wanted after the war by mentioning martyrs' graves: To beat up refugees who returned home, plant explosives, keep the situation tense, spread fear, and beat up people who fervently fight for democratic processes.

At that time, people in Cazin used to say that four housepainters ruled the town.

B-H: Silajdzic, Izetbegovic Clash in Sarajevo

LD0207110896 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1037 GMT 2 Jul 96

[By Zdravko Milanović]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, July 2 (TANJUG)—The leader of the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina, Haris Silajdzic, has received yet another 'blow' from his opponents, Alija Izetbegovic's ruling Muslim Party of Democratic Action (SDA).

Late last month, Izetbegovic's supporters physically attacked and seriously injured Silajdzic in the town of Cazin, western Bosnia.

This time, in question is not a repeat of the Cazin 'assassination attempt', but an 'ordinary attack' on Silajdzic's supporters who took over the top party positions in the Sarajevo canton.

The president of the Sarajevo canton branch of the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina, Beris Beklic, was ordered to go on vacation only ten hours [after] being elected to office.

Three other members of this party who took part in the promotion of the party in the Sarajevo canton—Hasib Gihanica, Rifko Secerovic and Izet Volode were suspended from work.

Commenting the new conflict between the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina and the ruling SDA, the Sarajevo media said that this was to have been expected following a recent statement by SDA Vice-President Edhem Bicakcic that 'the opposition would be dealt with in a hardline manner.' Asked whether this means even the use of force, Bicakcic only laughed.

Soon after this statement, Silajdzic received a head blow in Cazin. The authorities claimed that this was an act by extremists, while independent media and opposition parties accused the Muslim party which, they said, wants to resolve inter-party rivalry in this way.

The Cazin syndrome affected Silajdzic's party to such an extent that several promotion gatherings had to be cancelled. However, it is clear that the affair also had a contrary effect since it boosted Silajdzic's popularity both at home and abroad, and within political circles. In Tuzla, only three days after the incident, his party admitted 786 new members.

Positive reactions also came from the United States which, local politicians said, has 'elected its man in Bosnia.' Silajdzic is being described as a fighter for a united Bosnia, as opposed to Izetbegovic who prefers his small patch of land.

Political circles, however, describe Silajdzic's advocating a single Bosnia as 'not his personal affair'. A united Bosnia is possible only in agreement with the Serbs and Croats, in keeping with the Dayton agreement, the politicians say.

B-H: Electoral Commission Secretary on Voting in Mostar

AU0107203296 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 1 Jul 96

[Report by Halil Sefka on news conference by Vjekoslav Lovric, Mostar electoral commission secretary, in Mostar on 1 July—recorded; Lovric speaks in Serbo-Croatian with passage-by-passage translation into English]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Sefka] Vjekoslav Lovric, secretary of the Mostar city elections commission, announced only the results of the vote for the 13 members of the city council that are elected by direct vote in six city districts. This means that only the results of the vote for one list are known.

After stressing that the future city council would have 37 members, the city elections commission stressed:

[Lovric] The total number of voters in District North is 10,855: 4,573 people voted, 47 ballot papers were invalid. The result by the list of candidates was as follows:

The Croatian Pure Party of Right [HCSP] received 21 votes; the List of Citizens for a Unified Mostar [LGJM], 3,483 votes; the Croatian Democratic Union [HDZ], 987 votes; the Croatian Party of Right [HSP], eight votes; the Joint List, 25 votes; independent candidate Dragan Ziga received two votes.

District No. 2, Old Town, has 17,191 voters overall: 8,047 voters cast their vote. In percentages, that is 46 percent. There were 115 invalid ballot papers. Here follow the results per candidates' list:

The HCSP received 75 votes; the LGJM, 6,159 votes; the HDZ, 1,433 votes; the HSP, 20 votes; the Joint List, 235 votes; and independent candidate Dragan Ziga 10 votes.

District No. 3, Southeast, has 7,859 voters of whom 5,416 voted, which is 69 percent. There were 52 invalid ballot papers. The results per candidates' list are as follows:

The HCSP received 27 votes; the LGJM, 4,679 votes; the HDZ, 655 votes; the HSP, five votes; the Joint List, 13 votes; and independent candidate Dragan Ziga, one vote.

District No. 4, South, has 6,427 voters of which 3,582 voted. That is 56 percent. The results per candidates' list are as follows:

The HCSP received 39 votes; the LGJM, 767 votes; the HDZ, 2,639 votes; the HSP, 45 votes; the Joint List, 29 votes; and independent candidate Dragan Ziga, two votes.

District No. 5, Southwest, is the largest district with 34,595 voters: 19,091 of these voted, which is 55 percent, and 331 ballot papers were invalid. The results per candidates' list is as follows:

The HCSP received 293 votes; the LGJM, 4,273 votes; the HDZ 12,984 votes; the HSP, 220 votes; the Joint List, 815 votes; and independent candidate Dragan Ziga, 83 votes.

District No. 6, West, is also one of the larger ones with 19,707 voters: 10,013 people voted, which is 51 percent, and 235 ballot papers were invalid. The results per candidates' list as follows:

The HCSP received 133 votes; the LGJM, 2,332 votes; the HDZ, 6,824 votes; the HSP, 87 votes; the Joint List, 344 votes; and independent candidate Dragan Ziga, 54 votes.

The results of the vote in the central zone are the following: There are 2,580 voters of whom 1,109 voted, that is, 44 percent. There were two polling stations there.

The HCSP received 11 votes, the LGJM, 684 votes; the HDZ, 414 votes; the HSP, five votes; the Joint List, 49 votes; and independent candidate Dragan Ziga, two votes.

In Stockholm, 1,356 people voted and their votes went as follows: the HCSP, two votes; the LGJM, 1,187 votes; the HDZ, 33 votes; the HSP got no vote in Stockholm; the Joint List, 108 votes; and independent candidate Dragan Ziga, one vote.

In Oslo, 1,223 people voted. The HCSP received one vote; the LGJM, 1,059 votes; the HDZ, 20 votes; the HSP, one vote; and Joint List, 125 votes; and independent candidate Dragan Ziga, two votes.

The largest turnout was in Bonn, that is 4,085 voters. This is how they voted: The HCSP received 15 votes; the LGJM, 3,238 votes; the HDZ, 628 votes; the HSP, four votes; the Joint List, 154 votes; and independent candidate Dragan Ziga, six votes.

A total of 762 voters voted in Bern. The HCSP received two votes; the LGJM, 644 votes; the HDZ, 63 votes; the HSP, one vote; the Joint List, 41 vote; and independent candidate Dragan Ziga, one vote.

[Sefka] At the end of the news conference, the reporters were told that the final results of the elections would be announced on 3 July.

B-H: Electoral Lists for Coming Elections Determined

LD2606194596 Sarajevo BH PRESS in Serbo-Croatian 1511 GMT 26 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 26 Jun (BH PRESS)—The interim electoral commission organized a draw in the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] headquarters in Sarajevo today to decide the position of the political parties and independent candidates on electoral lists for the coming elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Speaking before the draw, Sir Kenneth Scott, chairman of the interim electoral commission, said that the appeals subcommission had upheld a complaint by one of the two parties whose lists had been rejected. He said that because of insufficient signatures, this particular party's list was accepted for elections at the municipal level only.

Scott said that each party could nominate one candidate only for each election. This means that no candidate can be nominated for several elections. He said that one independent candidate had withdrawn, leaving 32 candidates on the list of independent candidates.

Speaking about the possibility of persons accused of war crimes being nominated for elections, Scott said that any such name would be automatically dropped from the list.

Today's draw determined the order of parties on electoral lists for elections to the presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the parliament of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the presidency of the Serb Republic, the People's Assembly of the Serb Republic, the parliament of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, at the cantonal level, municipal level, and the list of independent candidates.

The order of parties on the electoral list for the presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina is as follows:

1. Nikola Pasic Radical Fatherland Front [Radikalni Otadzbinski front Nikola Pasic]
2. Serb Peasant Party [Srpska seljacka stranka]
3. Civic Democratic Party of Bosnia-Herzegovina [Gradjanska demokratska stranka BiH]
4. Party of Economic Prosperity [Stranka privrednog prosperiteta]
5. Joint List of Bosnia-Herzegovina [Zdruzena lista BiH]
6. People's Party of the Serb Republic [Narodna stranka Republike Srpske]
7. Party of Democratic Action [Stranka demokratske akcije]
8. Croatian Party of Rights [Hrvatska stranka prava]
9. Liberal Party [Liberalna stranka]
10. Bosnian Party [Bosanska stranka]
11. Serb Democratic Party of Serb Lands [Srpska demokratska stranka srpskih zemalja]
12. Croatian Democratic Union [Hrvatska demokratska zajednica]
13. Patriotic Party of Bosnia-Herzegovina [Patriotska stranka BiH]
14. Serb Radical Party [Srpska radikalna stranka]
15. Democratic Popular Union [Demokratska narodna zajednica]
16. Democratic Patriotic Bloc of the Serb Republic [Demokratski patriotski blok RS]
17. Popular Alliance for Freedom and Peace [Narodni savez za slobodu I mir]
18. Serb Patriotic Party of Salvation [Srpska patriotska stranka spasa]

19. Democratic Party of Federalists [Demokratska stranka federalista]
20. Liberal Bosniak Organization [Liberalna bosnjacka organizacija]
21. Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina [Stranka za BiH]
22. Serb Party of Krajina [Srpska stranka Krajine]

The order on the list for the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly is as follows:

1. Party of Economic Prosperity
2. Popular Alliance for Freedom and Peace
3. Croatian Party of Rights
4. Party of Women of Bosnia-Herzegovina [Stranka zena BiH]
5. Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina
6. Bosnian Party
7. People's Party of the Serb Republic
8. Liberal Party
9. Patriotic Party of Bosnia-Herzegovina
10. Party of Serb Unity [Stranka srpskog jedinstva]
11. Serb Patriotic Party of Salvation
12. Serb Party of Krajina
13. Croatian Democratic Union
14. Party of Democratic Action
15. Nikola Pasic Radical Fatherland Front
16. Civic Democratic Party
17. Liberal Bosniak Organization
18. Democratic Party of Federalists
19. Democratic Popular Union
20. Joint List of Bosnia-Herzegovina
21. Serb Peasant Party
22. Serb Radical Party
23. Serb Democratic Party of Serb Lands.

The following is the list of parties for the Assembly of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina:

1. Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina
2. Party of Women of Bosnia-Herzegovina
3. Bosnian Party
4. Croatian Party of Rights
5. Party of Economic Prosperity
6. Party of Democratic Action
7. Patriotic Party of Bosnia-Herzegovina
8. Civic Democratic Party
9. Joint List of Bosnia-Herzegovina
10. Liberal Bosniak Party
11. Democratic Popular Union
12. Croatian Democratic Union
13. Liberal Party.

Following the draw, Svjetlana Fabijanic, member of the executive committee of the Union of Bosnia Social Democrats, protested because the Joint List of Bosnia-Herzegovina was not included on the electoral list for the presidency and People's Assembly of the Serb Republic. The interim electoral commission explained that the mistake was accidental and would be corrected by 4 July.

She also protested at the interim electoral commission's appeal to the "citizens of the states" [drzavljani] of the Serb Republic and federation to vote in the elections, thus recognizing the state sovereignty of the two entities in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

B-H: Deadline Extended for Submission of Candidate Lists

AU0207144996 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 2 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Provisional Electoral Commission decided today to extended the deadline for political parties to submit candidate lists for elections at the cantonal and municipal levels until 1700(1500 GMT) on 8 July. The deadline for elections at higher levels will remain 1700 on 4 July.

Parties may submit their candidate lists to the Provisional Electoral Commission in Sarajevo or to any other regional center or OSCE field office. Every list is to be signed by a party chairman or deputy chairman or by any other party official, of which the maximum number is six, who is authorized in written form by the chairman or the deputy chairman, reads the statement issued by the OSCE headquarters in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

B-H: Poll Indicates 96 Percent of Citizens Intend To Vote

AU2706163696 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1416 GMT 27 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 27 June (BETA)—A huge majority of citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina will vote in the September elections. This is the result of the opinion poll conducted by the Sarajevo newspaper DNEVNI AVAZ.

Some 96 percent of those polled in Sarajevo, Zenica, and Tuzla have stated that they will go to the polls, while the remaining 4 percent still do not know what to do, ONASA reports. Using the random sample method, 300 citizens were polled by telephone.

B-H: Serb Radio-TV Chief Sets Rules for Access to Media

LD2706211096 Pale Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 27 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Flavio Cotti, chairman of the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe], has decided that elections in the [Bosnian] Serb Republic and the Muslim-Croat federation will be held on 14 September. Representatives of the parties that will run in the elections in the Serb Republic discussed this in Pale today with senior officials of [Bosnian] Serb Radio-Television. They talked about the principles both sides must honor during the election campaign and about the parties' presentation in Serb Radio-Television programs.

Ilija Guzina, director general of Serb Radio-Television, and Gordan Matras, editor in chief of GLAS SRPSKI, had a meeting with representatives of six political parties—the Serb Democratic Party, the Serb Radical Party, the Party of Serb Unity, the Democratic Party, the Homeland Party, and the Party of Federalists. They discussed ways of presentation during the election campaign.

Mr. Guzina said that only the parties which do not cast doubt on the sovereignty of the Serb Republic and respect the achievements of the four years of war would have access to the [Bosnian] Serb media. Honoring the ideals of freedom and equality of all citizens of the Serb Republic, during the election campaign Serb Radio-Television and GLAS SRPSKI will adhere to the principles deriving from the Serb Republic's law on elections and the regulations compiled by the OSCE temporary electoral commission, the director general of Serb Radio-Television stressed. [passage omitted]

B-H: Serb Democratic Party Appoints Elections Task Force

LD0207124096 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1153 GMT 2 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] At a session today, the main committee of the Serb Democratic Party established a task force for organizing the elections. The session later verified the lists of candidates for forthcoming elections at the municipal level. The lists for municipal committees of Banja Luka, Srbac, Bileca, Brcko, Bratunac, and Trebinje were adopted, and verification of the others is continuing.

B-H: Sarajevo Urges Naming Brcko Arbitrator

AU2406201096 Paris AFP in English 2003 GMT 24 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, June 24 (AFP)—The Bosnian presidency urged the international community Monday to name its arbitrator and to accelerate inquiry into war crimes in the disputed Brcko area, BH Press, the official news agency, said.

BH Press said that the collective head of the state called on "international institutions in charge to name the arbitrator for this issue without delay."

The presidency also called on the International Criminal Tribunal for ex-Yugoslavia (ICTY) "to accelerate the investigation on the genocide" committed in Brcko by the Serbs.

Brcko, the northeastern Serb-held town on the Sava river that is a natural border between Bosnia and Croatia, is the only unresolved territorial issue of the Dayton peace accord that ended almost four years of the war in the country.

The town, with a Moslem and Croat majority before the war, is vital for the Serbs because it lies in the narrow corridor connecting the western and eastern Bosnian Serb territories.

When the Serbs took control over the town in May 1992 they killed several thousand Moslems and Croats, according to the Sarajevo government.

The Dayton accord provides that a year upon its signing last December international arbitration will decide the faith of the town.

Both the Sarajevo government and the Bosnian Serbs named their arbitrators but the third one, who is to be international, has not been nominated yet.

The presidency also decided Monday to declare July 11 the Day of Memory of all civilian victims of the aggression on Bosnia.

"Such a decision was motivated by the anniversary of the enormous sufferings of the civilians from Srebrenica and Zepa," the BH Press said.

The former Moslem eastern enclave of Srebrenica fell to the Serbs on July 11 last year and the close-by enclave of Zepa fell two weeks later.

Central commemoration will be held in Sarajevo on the day, the presidency decided.

B-H: Serb Arbitrator for Brcko Views Future Work

LD2706083996 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2229 GMT 19 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 19 Jun (SRNA)—Vitomir Popovic, the Serb Republic arbitrator for Brcko, said today that "according to the Dayton Agreement, what is contentious is not the town of Brcko, but a part of the border separating the Serb Republic and the Croat-Muslim federation."

"According to my deep conviction, the contentious issue can only be the part of the territory at the southern side toward Mt. Majevica, which is approximately 14 kilometers long," Popovic told SRNA after being elected arbitrator for the contentious border around Brcko.

According to Popovic, the People's Assembly will finally establish the platform which will represent the basis for everything in connection with the arbitration.

"To achieve better quality of work I will be able to set up expert teams, particularly for legal matters, economics, geodesy, which will include representatives both from the eastern and western parts of the Serb Republic and from Brcko," Popovic added.

At its session today, the People's Assembly of the Serb Republic endorsed the government's proposal to appoint Dr. Vitomir Popovic the Serb Republic representative on the arbitration commission for the disputed border in the municipality of Brcko.

In the past, Popovic was Banja Luka Basic Court president and deputy prime minister in the Serb Republic government. Currently he is a lecturer at Banja Luka's Faculty of Law.

B-H: Paper Claims Brcko Serbs Mobilizing Young Men

AU2806101896 Sarajevo DNEVNI AVAZ in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jun 96 p 6

[Article by S. Mesetovic: "War Drums From Pale"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Arbitration on the town of Brcko is supposed to be completed after the September elections. According to the reports, or rather, threats coming from the Serbian entity, Brcko could again turn into a hotbed of clashes between the Federation and the Serb entity.

Even some international factors are concerned for the fate of the shaky peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina following the arbitration in this town because the Serbs have indicated clearly the possibility of war clashes if the arbitration rules unfavorably for their side. [passage omitted]

Brcko is at present populated chiefly by the Serbs who arrived there from the reintegrated parts of Sarajevo. They live in the houses of the Bosniaks and the Croats, and as the television reports from Pale claim, they are ready to defend "their" town with arms.

DNEVNI AVAZ has learned from reliable sources that the military preparations of the Serbs in Brcko which threaten to stir up new war clashes have already started. In the town itself and nearby, selected young men are being recruited who are undergoing a special training, with the help of which they will be able to carry out the most complex of sabotage and terrorist actions on the Federation's territory in the vicinity of Brcko.

As our sources have learned, those most often recruited are the young male refugees from the reintegrated parts or Sarajevo who have four years of combat experience behind them. Apart from telling them that "the defense of the Serb Brcko" is a patriotic duty, these young men from Pale are promised a lot.

Above all, they are being told that if Brcko remains in the Serbian entity they will get ownership of Bosniaks' houses and apartments and they will own their land. They also promise them perks in starting private business, getting commercial premises, and foreign currency compensation for actions successfully carried out .

Apart from intimidation of the expelled Brcko residents to discourage their return to this town, these terrorists will have the task of disrupting the regularity of the forthcoming elections, not only in Brcko but in other parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina, too.

B-H: 'Returnees' Protest Karadzic's 'Blackmail' Over Brcko

AU2806192296 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 28 Jun 96

[Report by Admir Kadric—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] The citizens of the free Brcko territory have received with repugnance the latest statement by war criminal Karadzic, who is trying to blackmail the international community by demanding concessions at the expense of the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina and its sovereignty, involving the city of Brcko, and referring to it as a condition for his stepping down from the political scene. On this occasion, the Association of Brcko Returnees issued a statement today. Admir Kadric reports.

[Kadric] The city in which, at Radovan Karadzic's orders, one of the most horrible crimes in the whole genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina was committed, namely Brcko, is supposed to be a subject of exchange for the criminal Karadzic stepping down from power. The background to this offer can easily be seen through. Brcko remaining under Serb control represents the key precondition for the implementation of the greater Serbian project, which would provide better chances of survival and recovery for the shaken Pale leadership. Therefore, in addition to what has already been stated in the statement for public by the Brcko Association of Returnees, the statement further reads: We demand that the Governments of the Republic and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and President of the Presidency Alija Izetbegovic give a definite and resolute no to all possible attempts by the international community to make the city of Brcko a subject of unprincipled and dishonest trade with the war criminal. Otherwise, reads the conclusion of the statement, all the hopes for the reintegration of Bosnia-Herzegovina will be buried, as well as for the return of hundreds of thousands of displaced persons to their homes.

B-H: Serbs Reportedly Demand 20-Km Brcko Corridor

AU2806201696 Belgrade DNEVNI TELEGRAF in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jun 96 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Yugoslavia To Recognize the Serb Republic and Expand the Corridor"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Pale—The demands that Yugoslavia recognize the Serb Republic [RS] as an independent state and that the Brcko corridor be expanded to 20 km top the list of conditions set by the Serb Republic (in exchange for Radovan Karadzic's withdrawal from the position of RS president), that Nikola Sainovic [FRY deputy prime minister] took to Belgrade from Pale yesterday, DNEVNI TELEGRAF has learnt from a well-informed source close to the RS government.

The list, in addition to the above mentioned, features a whole series of other demands that regulate the statehood of the RS down to the smallest detail. Because of the delicacy of the negotiations and a great number of issues that are being negotiated, it is anticipated that Sainovic, perhaps even within the next 10 days, will be engaged in shuttle diplomacy between Belgrade and Pale.

The same source claims that Sainovic has no authorization whatsoever to make decisions and that he has to go to Belgrade to obtain approval for any issue, which slows down the negotiations and make them more difficult.

B-H: OSCE Official Says No Decision Yet on Brcko

AU0107175996 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian) in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jun 96 p 6

[Article by Senka Kurtovic: "Lists of Candidates by 4 July"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The OSCE Provisional Electoral Commission has still not made a definitive decision on whether elections in Brcko will be held in September.

Sir Kenneth Scott, deputy head of the OSCE mission for Bosnia-Herzegovina, made the announcement at the meeting of the Consultative Council of political parties of both entities held on Friday in Sarajevo.

Sir Scott also announced that samples ballot papers had been dispatched from Sarajevo. The ballots will be printed by a special firm in Austria. This firm, according to Scott, was chosen among many others that applied for the job.

"We have 22 parties on the list for the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, 24 for the Chamber of Representatives of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and 19 for the Assembly of the Serb Republic. There are 13 parties on the list for the parliament of the Federation and one independent candidate. On the list for cantonal elections, there are 16 parties and two independent candidates, while on the list for municipal elections there are 43 parties and 32 independent candidates," Scott said.

He pointed out that by 4 July all political parties are expected to submit their lists of candidates, which do not need to have the same number of candidates as the number of deputies' seats. The Provisional Electoral Commission has set different provisions for this than is anticipated by the 1990 electoral law. No names can be added to the list between 4 July and 14 September. [passage omitted]

B-H: Federation Prime Minister on Brcko Arbitration

LD0107163796 Tuzla Radio Tuzla in Serbo Croatian 1400 GMT 1 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] At the end of his three-day visit to Tuzla-Podrinje canton, Federal Prime Minister Izet Kapetanovic held the final round of talks with the canton president, Izet Hadzic, today. The talks dealt mainly with the political situation in the canton and difficulties in financing institutions from the state budget, Hadzic told reporters. [passage omitted]

Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation Prime Minister Izudin Kapetanovic spoke about activities concerning the arbitration of Brcko. He said that it is a positive step that the

Serb entity has named its arbiter, and now the same is expected from the international community. After this, the Dayton agreement will be fulfilled.

[begin Kapetanovic recording] As far as Brcko is concerned, I believe we in the federation have prepared ourselves well for the arbitration. We have engaged some experts. People on the ground have done a huge amount of work in preparing the documentation and materials related to the presentation at the arbitration for Brcko. Finally, the leadership of the Serb entity has realized that Brcko must go for arbitration. As recently as yesterday, they were rejecting such a thought, pretending they did not know what should go to arbitrartion, what arbitration? This is also how they informed their people.

Now it is very clear what the subject of the arbitration is. It is something that is very important and our side will do everything to carry out the arbitration in a legal, objective way. Of course, with the understanding that Brcko should belong to the federation. [end recording]

B-H: Plavsic on Why Karadzic Stepped Down

MS0207104096 London THE GUARDIAN in English 2 Jul 96 p 10

[Article by Julian Borger: "Karadzic Keeps His Hand In"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pale—The Serb Democratic Party (SDS) which controls the Serb-held half of Bosnia, was huddled behind closed doors yesterday picking candidates for the September elections. The head of the selection committee—appointed unanimously last Friday—was Radovan Karadzic.

There could be no clearer demonstration of how the international community's failure to lever the Bosnian Serb leader out of power is casting a shadow over the prospects for long-term peace in the Balkans.

A source in the Serb strong hold of Pale said Mr Karadzic would use the vetting procedure to filter out moderates, concentrated in the western city of Banja Luka.

"Up to now, you've been hearing different things from Pale and Banja Luka—the new party lists will bring things more into line," the source said on condition of anonymity, which is the only way Bosnian Serb dissidents talk these days.

A brief flowering of independent thinking in Banja Luka in May has since been stifled; now only hardline separatists are likely to find a place on the party lists. And given the SDS dominance of Bosnian Serb politics, elections are increasingly likely to deepen Bosnia's partition.

Claims over the weekend by the international community's high representative, Carl Bildt, that Mr Karadzic had stepped down were exposed as nonsense by the Serb separatist's open display of power. Mr Karadzic's deputy, Biljana Plavsic, said he had only delegated his functions to her temporarily to concentrate on the elections.

Mr Karadzic offered further embarrassment to Mr Bildt yesterday by appearing on television to castigate his enemies.

"The international community is pressuring me not only to resign but not to engage in party business," Mr Karadzic said in a taped broadcast of remarks he made to the SDS executive committee yesterday. "Their opponent therefore is not Radovan Karadzic, their opponent is the Serb Democratic Party. Their opponent is the Serb people."

Mr Karadzic's flexing of political muscle has also exposed Nato's limitations. The Nato-led peacekeeping force, I-For, said last month it had increased its patrols in Pale to cramp Mr Karadzic's style.

In theory, I-For troops have the authority to arrest war criminals such as Mr Karadzic if they meet them in the normal course of their duties. But there was little sign of I-For in the mountain village yesterday, and recent press surveys have found that few of the 60,000 strong force would recognise the Serb leader if he shook them by the hand.

Officials in Mr Bildt's office maintained that his diplomacy had sown confusion in Bosnian Serb ranks, but yesterday it was the various organs of the international community that looked in disarray.

Mr Bildt's deputy, Michael Steiner, issued a challenge to his own putative employers, the major powers, to make good a threat of sanctions made at the G7 summit in Lyon on Friday.

He conceded that Mr Bildt had the power to trigger sanctions on his own—and that he was due to consider his next move on returning to Sarajevo from Stockholm yesterday evening—but insisted that "whatever is done has the full support of the international community".

His remarks recalled the days of the United Nations' mission in Bosnia (Unprofor) from 1992 to 1995, which was reduced by timidity and lack of international consensus to near paralysis in its dealings with the Serbs.

"There is a danger of going through 'Unprofor-isation' again," said a veteran UN aid official. "After all, it's more or less the same governments involved."

International cohesion is further undermined by persistent off-the-record sniping between Nato and Mr Bildt's office. Each institution wants the other to deal with Mr Karadzic.

There is also an ill-concealed rift within the high representative's office between Mr Bildt and Mr Steiner. They are reported to be barely on speaking terms, caused by a clash of egos and policy differences.

Both Nato officers and Mr Bildt's aides are hopeful that the campaign to get rid of Mr Karadzic will be given fresh impetus after the second round of the Russian elections tomorrow when Western governments will have less reason to fear arousing pro-Serb sentiment in Russia and so damage Boris Yeltsin's chances.

B-H: Plavsic Says 'Misunderstanding' Cleared After Meeting

LD0207130396 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1221 GMT 2 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 2 Jul (SRNA)—Serb Republic Vice President Biljana Plavsic said after a meeting held today in Pale with international mediator Carl Bildt that these talks open the way to implementation of the Dayton agreement, although this has to a large extent been done earlier. [sentence as received]

"A vacuum emerged in the realization of the Dayton agreement. The misunderstanding has been cleared, and today we managed to coordinate principles on the basis of which we shall maintain (?further communication)," she said.

According to her, the talks centered on the media and the elections, and Bildt gave to the Serb side "explanations about economic aid from the international community to the Serb Republic."

"We hope to work out details at future meetings and agree on some timetables," Plavsic added.

B-H: Karadzic Addresses SDS Party Executive

LD0107205496 Pale Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 1 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Dr. Radovan Karadzic, the president of the Bosnian Serb Republic and of the Serb Democratic Party [SDS], opened the first session of the new SDS Main Committee in Pale today. This evening the committee will propose and probably endorse party lists for the September elections.

Summing up the six years of the party's existence, President Karadzic drew attention to its important role in the political and armed struggle for achieving and forming the first state of the Serb nation. This generation and this membership have forced the world powers to recognize the borders of the Serb Republic. It goes without saying that the contribution of the SDS, especially in the political sphere was of paramount importance, President Karadzic said, and went on to say:

[Begin Karadzic recording] After the war the party experienced a renaissance which was accompanied by internal elections, at which the polished diamonds—the political leaders of individual areas, local communities, municipalities, and regions—in a democratic, free, and secret election, elected a selected assembly of the SDS, which then met in session on St. Vitus's Day.

The very best have been selected to sit on this committee in a secret ballot and amid fierce competition. I do not believe that there is a political party in Europe with such a powerful, good, capable, and dedicated leadership as the SDS.

Our internal elections allowed us to select the very best from among those who for six years shouldered the burden of the creation and defense of our state. These 85 people are a guarantee that the SDS will continue to serve the Serb people in the best possible way and that it will score a superior victory in the coming elections.

A victory in the coming elections will be tantamount to our victory in 1990. Many parties from the Muslim-Croat Federation have registered to contest elections in our country with a clear aim of strengthening civic, antinational, and nonnational elements and parties in our country in order to ensure at least one-third of seats for them. With one-third of seats in the parliament of the union of Bosnia-Herzegovina and one-third in the parliament of the Serb Republic, such parties could annihilate the Serb Republic. Under the Dayton constitution, if one-third of Serb deputies adopts a decision, a measure or a law, they become valid and must be enforced.

In other words, we are in a more serious danger now than in 1990. We must win these elections by more than two-thirds majority. We must tell our people that those who are competing for power in the Serb Republic, are competing to win one-third of seats and to cash in on their seats in the parliaments of the union and the Serb Republic, in other words to bargain with Serb national interests.

The only force, the only party that will strengthen the Serb Republic is the SDS. It is in the interest of all the other parties, except the rare ones with the word Serb in their name, to bargain with our opponents and to reduce the level of statehood of the Serb Republic.

It is our task to make our people aware of these dangers and then to rely on its decisions. We must tell our people that it is easy to manipulate the votes, the votes cast abroad, postal votes from Germany, France, Switzerland, Austria, and the postal votes from the Croat-Muslim Federation. We know that if all the Serbs were to vote for the Serb parties and especially for the SDS, no manipulation will bear fruit. But if this does not happen, if the Serb electorate allows itself to be divided, we will again face the danger of having to use arms to defend our freedom and statehood.

In other words, it is not the elections that are at stake, it is our survival that is at stake. We know for definite that it is only the SDS that will not let our people down, because at stake is the survival of its members, their families, its raison d'etre. The most important thing is to ensure that, today, in peace, at elections, or because of divisions in the Serb electorate, we do not lose what we won in the war in which we succeeded in preventing divisions, in which by overcoming divisions into chetniks and partisans we created a Serb army, a Serb soldier, in which, unlike any other country, we allowed political parties to be set up, in which we did not persecute our political opponents and had no political prisoners. We regret nothing. On the contrary, we are proud that not a single person had to face the firing squad during the four years of war. This the SDS can consider as its success.

We must tell the Bosnian Serb people that not only the elections are at stake; our survival is at stake.

The international community is exerting pressure on me not only to resign but also to give up party duties and to withhold my support from our SDS presidential candidate. Therefore, Radovan Karadzic is not their opponent; the SDS is their opponent, the Serb people are their opponent. If they really believe in their thesis that the leadership is extreme and the people moderate—that the leadership is against brotherhood and unity and coexistence, while the people want brotherhood and unity and coexistence—they would allow the elections to go ahead in a democratic way. However, they know that the people resolutely support their own state and are against forced coexistence.

The international community know that the SDS will win in a superior manner in any free and democratic elections. That is why they will do anything to achieve their goal, to prevent an SDS victory.

If the SDS does not win, and it must win with a majority of 68 to 70 percent—51 percent will not do, the Serb Republic will be brought into question.

This is why I am very pleased to be able to say that we have been reinforced with real political gems, polished during the six-year-long period of difficult political and military battles. After the internal SDS elections, we now have a powerful SDS assembly consisting of 395 members. From now on we will convene this body on a more frequent basis. It is a honor for all members of the SDS assembly that it has produced a main committee consisting of 85 members, a committee that any other European political organization or party can only dream about. We can now tell our people: These are the 395 members of the assembly of the SDS, and these are the 85 members of the SDS Main Committee who will take you out of the blind alley of history, i.e. who will write a new chapter in the successful part of our story—so far we have marked our borders and declared them official.

We must be aware of the fact that the job has not been completed. The job will not be completed until our victory, in triumph, and with more than a two-thirds majority, in these elections and secure that the Serb Republic is never again drowned into the Federation [sentence as heard]. On the contrary, we must secure for it either a further level of independence or a possible unification with other Serb lands.

I welcome you to the first session of the main committee and I hope that during the next four years we will successfully lead this people; that all our deputies and local representatives whose candidacy we put forward on our lists win with a big majority in their units, municipalities, in the republic, and the union. And as the statute, the law, and the constitution oblige them, to implement there the program of the Serb Democratic Party, which is identical with the basic interests of the Serb nation and that is the safeguard of statehood.

With such a main committee, the Serb Democratic Party can look into the future with optimism. With such a Serb Democratic Party the Serb people in the Serb Republic, and not only in the Serb Republic, can look with great optimism into the future. [end recording]

B-H: Doboj Police Protest Act Involving U.S. Soldiers

LD0207123096 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1128 GMT 2 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Doboj, 2 Jul (SRNA)—The public security center of Doboj lodged a protest with IFOR [Implementation Force] today over an incident caused when a group of U.S. soldiers tried to remove a Serbian flag from a flag pole in Doboj.

The American soldiers, while passing along the main Doboj-Modrica road, tried yesterday to cut the halyard and take the flag off, but citizens of Doboj prevented them from doing so, SRNA has learned.

Major Arthur Golawski, from the IFOR command in Doboj, has confirmed that the international police had given information about the incident. The military police of the 18th U.S. Army, to which the said U.S. soldiers belong, are in charge of the investigation.

B-H: Daily Analyses U.S. Landing Incident in Lukovica

AU2406090596 Sarajevo VECERNJE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 7 Jun 96 p 2

[Article by S. Rukavina: "The Straining of Nerves"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A number of American helicopters in low flight followed the car from Dobrinja to Lukovica. The helicopters landed at the "Energoinvest," 10 American soldiers blocked the road, and tried to capture a certain Aleksic, "the courageous Serb commander for the defense of the Jewish cemetery." All this because of the gun that the "driver" had on him. "A few thousand" citizens of the Serb Republic quickly gathered, and saved their "defender" from the hands of the 10 "enraged Americans."

What Need Did Aleksic Have for a Gun?

The Serb police determined that the "driver" had a valid license to carry weapons, the Serb public is asking itself how the Americans had "seen the gun out of the helicopter," and "an incident involving arms was avoided at the last minute, thanks to the calmness of the Serb citizens and the Serb police." At a meeting on Tuesday evening, Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the National Assembly of the Serb Republic, had protested against all this to Michael Steiner, the deputy of Carl Bildt—the high representative of the international community to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

It is in this kind of fashion that the Pale means of information had reported on the incident, and their reports were "covered" with pictures of French IFOR [Implementation Force] soldiers at a base in Lukovica, with full military equipment, and pictures of American military policemen comfortably walking among gathered Serbs, without helmets and armor, which is normally compulsory American procedure. The Pale reports had a report "intertwined" within it, namely one which said that it all dealt "only with an examination of reactions" in the event of an American decision to try something similar against Radovan Karadzic [Serb Republic president] and Ratko Mladic [Serb Republic military commander].

"The wild charge of the U.S. heavenly cavalry" on Tuesday in Lukavica was not the first of its kind: One should remember how Admiral Leyton Smith himself, to prove to Mladic that he can do anything, flew directly to Mladic's command post in Han Pijesak, in a helicopter with 15 soldiers. One should remember how the Americans interrupted a soccer match in Visegrad in order to land a helicopter carrying their soldiers. The matter can, however, not be brought down to the level of John Wayne films, where the cavalry arrives just at the right time.

The question put by the Pale media—as to how the Americans had seen the gun —makes sense. Just like the question as to what need Aleksic had for a gun in the demilitarized zone. The procedures regarding all kinds of weapons in the zone, which stretches to a distance of two kilometers from the dividing line, are foreseen by Annex 1A of the Dayton agreement, and are simply so clear that even those from Pale cannot interpret them differently.

The Russian Evaluation

A few other questions make sense. Like, for example, the one regarding what connection there is between the Lukavica incident and the story about Karadzic traveling around "his" country in an old beat-up "Renault 4," disguised with a mustache and wig? What connection is there between the Lukavica incident and a two-week old order given by NATO commander George Joulwan to more aggressively patrol, with an increased number of patrols, which also cover the area of Pale? One should remember that not too long ago three military vehicles of the Italian IFOR brigade in Pale yielded before the guns of Karadzic's police.

Joulwan explained his order to his superiors by saying that they will not chase after war criminals (and we know that), but that they will arrest them if the patrols run into them (we know that too). The new thing is that the NATO soldiers, with their new IFOR disposition in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the larger number and aggressiveness of the patrols, now have a significant change in the possibility of the running into Karadzic or Mladic (or, of course, all of the other small fish). The smallest consequence is the "hindrance of free movement" of Karadzic and Mladic, as American military experts call it.

The Russian consent to the removal of war criminals as stated in Berlin, when the Russian foreign minister said that "Karadzic's place is no longer in politics" means a lot. Just like the Russian assessment that his imprisonment could provoke other additional complications: This, more or less, means that even the Russians are beginning to consider all the possibilities seriously, as well as all the consequences of the removal of the current Pale leadership.

In the end, the event in Lukavica should also be seen in another context: Both the Americans and Karadzic are latently making the situation tense and directing the situation toward its unraveling. The arrogance with which both sides are acting toward one another will, in the end, lead to an open conflict that will result either in a new American helicopter landing, but on an open road where thousands of citizens will not be able to gather, or in the outright opening of fire upon Americans. The result of this outright conflict is really uncertain, because the American technological advantage has not shown itself sufficient even in Vietnam, nor in Somalia (does Karadzic think like Aidid), and it is a matter for discussion as to whether the Americans succeeded even in Panama against General Noriega, even though they imprisoned him.

Croatia: Hague Tribunal Criticized Over Latest Indictments

AU0207105896 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 1 Jul 96 p 1

[Commentary by Zoran Milanovic: "The Hague Tribunal Even Uses the Dead To Put Pressure on Croatia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Lyon summit of the seven most developed countries in the world demanded that Radovan Karadzic "immediately and permanently leave all public duties" in the "Serb Republic" [RS] and does not present himself as a candidate for any new duties, which was supported by Russia, considered to be the protector of Serbia and the Serbs. Then the Congress of the Serb Democratic Party [SDS] reelected the psychiatrist from Durmitor Mountain, with 353 of the 354 possible votes, as its president! By that, the statement of the G-7 Group at the Lyon summit was neutralized because one cannot seriously expect SDS president Radovan Karadzic not to "participate in any kind of government decision making" when all the ministers in the government are members of his party. It is indicative, however, that the seven most developed countries in the world did not even mention Karadzic's extradition to the International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague.

During his recent visit to Belgrade, John Kornblum did not emphasize or present the need to arrest Karadzic as strongly as he emphasized the need for his withdrawal from all public offices in the "RS." Instead of that, like many times before, the prosecutor of the international Tribunal for war crimes committed on the territory of the former Yugoslavia has brought charges against nine Bosnian Croats who are indicted for serious violations of the laws and customs of war in the Lasva Valley during the Croat-Muslim conflict from May 1992 to May 1993. The nine accused Croats includes Stipo Alilovic, who left the Lasva Valley toward the end of April 1992, before the Muslim-Croat conflict began. Not only did he leave, but the man also died. In Amsterdam.

It is true that, for two long years, Stipo Alilovic led a hard life-and-death battle but not against the Muslims in the Lasva Valley, as the Hague Tribunal claims, but against an evil disease—lung cancer. Such an impermissible act by the Tribunal prosecutor has deeply hurt all the Croats in Vitez and the whole of central Bosnia. In the opinion of the people of that region, so far, all the living Croats in the Lasva Valley could have expected an indictment from the Hague, but now, after this latest move by the Tribunal, the dead Croats are not to be spared either.

Is this latest case just further evidence that The Hague is increasingly becoming a political court, reserved exclusively for Croats and Croatia alone? Because, while Karadzic and Mladic, "the two worst mass murderers in Europe after the Nazis," as THE NEW YORK TIMES calls them, have been mocking both the Hague Tribunal and the entire international community day after day, the Tribunal and the international community have been venting all their intolerance on the Croats and Croatia. We should only remember how the Tribunal prosecutor only began to gather evidence of the possible guilt of [Croatian Army] General Tihomir Blaskic upon his arrival in The Hague! Thus, the principles of the Hague Tribunal becomes utterly clear. First a man (a Croat) is accused of something, and then one gathers evidence against him. However, the most recent case, that of Stipo Alilovic, shows clearly that the Hague Tribunal is no longer satisfied with living Croats. Now, the prosecutors have started to prosecute the dead. The goal—to put as much pressure on Croatia as possible in any way possible.

Croatia: Government Said To Give In to Slovene Border Demands

AU0207120796 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jun 96 p 5

[Article by Drazen Curic: "The Piran Bay Border Will Not be 278 Meters From the Coast"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Zagreb, 28 June—The lively diplomatic activity regarding Piran Bay is continuing, and it seems like the Croat Foreign ministry could soon respond to the protest note from the Slovene government. That is, a meeting was held on Friday morning, which was attended by the heads of the Foreign ministry—Mate Granic [Croat foreign minister], Hido Biscevic, and Hrvoje Kacic, the head of the Croat state committee on borders. The Slovene demands were examined at this meeting, and an answer to Slovenia's protest note was prepared.

As we have discovered, this was also the preparation for the forthcoming meeting between Granic and [Slovene foreign minister] Zoran Thaler. Otherwise, daily consultations between the Croat and Slovene foreign ministries are being held this week.

The conclusions of the Granic-Kacic-Biscevic meeting are still not available to the public supposedly because of the fact that the Croat officials assess that the newspapers "could not help" in this case. In any case, the Croat government will under no circumstances accept the Slovene suggestion, according to which the Piran Bay border would be only 278 meters away from the Croat coast instead of more than two kilometers away.

However, it seems that they are prepared to give in to not having the border pass through the middle of the bay but more to the Croat side, in fact, to Croatia's disadvantage.

However, even then the Slovenes would not have their much desired direct exit to international waters, so they are also asking (very decisively and rigidly) for part of the Croat territorial waters off Savudrija.

"This is the greatest absurdity. We have no right to be extravagant. In this case we would have to face a negative attitude in Istria because it could be seen as if we are giving up the Croat sea very easily. Moreover, Croatia cannot permit itself not to have a common border with Italy. In that case we cease to be one of the parties to the Osimo agreement," a high ranking Croat official, an expert in international law, told VJESNIK.

Commenting on the Slovene note, the official said that Croatia could, due to the Slovene presence on Sveta Gera [Trdinov Vrh], send protest notes to the other side on a daily basis. "This is a matter of indisputable Croat territory," VJESNIK's source reveals, adding that all the open issues will be discussed at the next meeting of the Slovene and Croat foreign ministers.

Croatia: Human Rights Activist Criticizes Recent Legislation

AU2806115296 Beli Manastir Srpski Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 27 Jun 96

[Report by Jovan Vlajkovic—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] The basic agreement signed in Erdut toward the end of last year had a major impact on relations both in the district and between the FRY and the Republic of Croatia, which the international community considers responsible for the full implementation of what was agreed in Erdut and later developed in Dayton and Paris. The return of over a million refugees on former SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] territory will be a major problem. The achievement of all human rights is the main prerequisite for their return.

People with goodwill, aware of the tragedy resulting from the war, gather around various organizations with a common goal—actively to monitor human rights. They are extremely courageous people, who dare publicly to condemn every violation of rights, protecting people regardless of their ethnic or other affiliation.

They have all gathered in Vukovar to exchange experiences, so that each can go back to his area and protect human rights more efficiently. The Serbs who live here in the district, as well as those living elsewhere, but who are originally from Croatia, are particularly interested in the state of human rights in the Republic of Croatia.

That is why we have decided to talk to the participants of the seminar held in Vukovar and ask them about the rights that are denied or violated in their areas. Our guest tonight is Veronika Reskovic, executive director of a Zagreb-based group for the direct protection of human rights.

[Vlajkovic] In marking 16 June, International Refugee Day, your group addressed a statement to international institutions, the international public, the assembly, parliamentary groups, the Croatian president, etc. The statement says that, according to official data presented to the Croatian Assembly last September, over 280,000 Croatian citizens of Serb nationality have moved out of Croatia since the beginning of the war. Regardless of their reasons for leaving the Republic of Croatia, you said that your organization, which protects human rights, is interested in instruments for their protection that arise from the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia. Furthermore, you presented several theses. Could you tell us more about this?

[Reskovic] In marking International Refugee Day, our statement focuses on the return of all refugees regardless of nationality, their right to return home. The preamble says that the return of such a large number of Croatian Serbs would set the scene for the return of Croatian refugees, primarily in eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srijem. Analyzing the laws passed in Croatia recently, in the past six to seven months, we were astounded that some laws directly or indirectly hinder the return of Croatian citizens of Serb nationality. We listed those laws and offered solutions as to how to get a rule-of-law state working and how to improve the legislation to such a level that all Croatian citizens can exercise their constitutional right, the right to return, guaranteed by all international conventions and agreements signed by Croatia.

Croatia: Transitional Joint Police Inaugurated in E. Slavonia

LD0107182196 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 1 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Starting today, the transitional police forces take control in the area under the UNTAES [UN Transitional Administration in Eastern Slavonia] administration. At the Nustar-Brsadin crossing U.S. General Jacques Klein announced the inauguration of the police authority. Marija Petrinovic reports:

[Petrinovic] This is another historic moment, said General Jacques Klein, adding that both sides should be thanked for their political support. [passage omitted]

The ceremony inaugurating the joint police forces was attended, together with representatives of the rebel Serbs, by Ivan Vucak and Dubravko Jezercic, the heads of the police administration of Vukovar-Srijem and Osijek-Baranja counties. The commander of the police forces is Petar Djukic, and his deputy is Josip Milicevic.

Croatia: Conflict Between Krajina Locals, Newcomers Reported

AU0207102596 Hanau NOVA BOSNA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Jun 96 p 6

[Unattributed report: "They Long for Their Serb Neighbors?!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On the territory of the former Krajina there are increasing conflicts between the returnee Croats and the displaced Croats from Bosnia-Herzegovina, who were brought there by the Croatian authorities.

The Croats from Posavina are the most aggressive of all these; partly because of their more aggressive mentality, but in fact more because of their forceful settling on the territory of Krajina, they come into conflict with their Catholic brothers. There are more and more physical conflicts, and as we have found out, two such conflicts ended tragically, though on these the Croatian police has remained silent.

In Kostajnica a Croat from Posavina moved into the house of a refugee Catholic. Just as the man from Posavina had settled down, brought the house into order, and the yard, and cultivated some land, the owner returned to his home. It came to a quarrel in which the Posavina man killed the owner. For days after that there was tension in Kostajnica because locals and newcomers divided themselves into two bands and threatened each other. The conflict was transferred to the local authorities because newcomers wish to have a decisive role in solving all the issues in the municipality. Another incident happened in Kostajnica. During a football game, a group of local Croats presented a big poster on which was written: "Go back to Posavina—give us back the honest Serbs." The reaction of the people from Posavina was furious. They attacked the locals, and a general brawl erupted in which some people were injured. The brawl moved from the stadium to the streets, and a special police unit from Gospic had to come to help the local police.

Poland: Prime Minister, Luxembourg's Poos Discuss Ties

LD0107203696 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2017 GMT 1 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Warsaw, July 1—Prime Minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz and visiting Luxembourg's Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Trade and Cooperation Jacques Poos discussed Polish efforts to join European and Euroatlantic structures and bilateral relations during their meeting on Monday.

Cimoszewicz acquainted Poos with the priorities of the Polish foreign policy, confirmed Poland's will to become a member of the European Union and NATO and presented measures undertaken to strengthen cooperation between Poland and its neighbours. He stressed that Poland is interested in maintaining the best possible relations with Luxembourg.

Possibilities of broadening economic cooperation were also discussed. Poland is especially interested in Luxembourg's experiences in the field of banking, among others the training of Polish experts in Luxembourg banks.

On the same day Minister Poos was received by President Aleksander Kwasniewski. The talks focused on bilateral relations and Poland's entry into the EU. Minister Poos extended an invitation to the president from the Grand Duke of Luxembourg to pay a visit to Luxembourg.

Poos also met with Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister Grzegorz Kolodko to discuss matters connected with the process of adjusting Polish economy and finance law to the requirement of the OECD and the European Union.

According to the Luxembourg minister, the year 2002 is a realistic date for expanding the EU by Poland.

Poland: Internal Affairs Minister Interviewed

WS0107085196 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 22-24 Jun 96 pp 8-10

[Interview with Polish Internal Affairs Minister Zbigniew Siemiatkowski by Jaroslaw Kurski in Siemiatkowski's Warsaw office; date not given: "One Must Be Vigilant in the Worst Ministry"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *"In such a paramilitary organization as the Office of State Protection [UOP], subordination to senior officials is obligatory, and in a conflict the internal affairs minister will always take the side of the chief," said Zbigniew Siemiatkowski in his interview with Jaroslaw Kurski.*

[Kurski] Why did you need this [fuss]?

[Siemiatkowski] When someone wanted to come to the Internal Affairs Ministry [MSW] and learn the truth about the Oleksy case, he encountered obstacles. I perceive everything that is currently taking place around UOP in such terms.

[Kurski] Which terms?

[Siemiatkowski] Here, in this office, I was warned by many people. They pressed me and gave me what they thought was good advice....

[Kurski] Who did this?

[Siemiatkowski] People whom I would never have suspected of doing so.

[Kurski] What did they tell you?

[Siemiatkowski] They told me that my efforts to learn the truth were unnecessary. Precisely in this ministry, an unfounded charge against the prime minister was formulated. I wanted to receive an answer to the question of why the evidence collected by UOP in fact turned out not to be evidence. Thus, a report emerged in which the truth was shown honestly. And only after this report was drafted did a scandal around the MSW emerge.

[Kurski] You are speaking not as minister but as a party to a case.

[Siemiatkowski] I am not a party to a case. I wanted to know the truth. During a three-month period in office, I did not even ask for Oleksy materials. Only when the prosecutor discovered gross mistakes and violations made by UOP functionaries did I endorse a decision to initiate a UOP investigation into the case.

[Kurski] But you did not have to endorse this decision.

[Siemiatkowski] No, I had to do so because the prosecutor charged me with doing this. Members of the UOP commission performed their work under double—official and informal—pressure. This case concerned their direct chiefs, with whom they had worked and been friends with for years. I told them: You must draft a document that you will be able to sign with a clear conscience.

[Kurski] Marian Kwiatkowski was the head of the UOP commission. Had he ever recruited agents?

[Siemiatkowski] No, he was an investigations officer and supervised official procedures to process operations material. The remaining three members of the commission—intelligence office functionaries—have recruited many agents and know how to do this. In addition, the commission also comprised a counterintelligence officer.

[Kurski] Are you sure they are reliable?

[Siemiatkowski] Yes, because I saw how efficient they were and what difficult problems they faced. They assessed their friends' work. They examined and weighed each sentence of the report.

[Kurski] Why do you trust some of your officers and not trust those who conducted observations of Jozef Oleksy?

[Siemiatkowski] I trust those who said explicitly that mistakes were made. For example, I have not obtained a convincing explanation as to why there was only a three-hour recording of a six-hour conversation during which an agent was recruited. Where did the remaining three hours disappear?

Each of the officers interrogated by the commission said at the beginning: "Why do you need all this? You will be replaced and other commissions will be set up. Why are you analyzing all this? The coalition is only temporary, and it will exist only until the next elections."

I received the commission's report along with a verbal message from [former Internal Affairs Minister] Andrzej Milczanowski, who informed me that, if sanctions concern his officers, he will not stand idly by. He said that the second act [of the play] will begin, assuring me that he and his officers will be very efficient. I think that current events represent precisely the second act of the process.

[Kurski] What specific events are taking place?

[Siemiatkowski] .... [no answer]

[Kurski] Would you today recruit an agent valued at 24 American agents and who outwitted the CIA, who spent many years in prison and did not break? Would you today recruit an agent who was recommended for the post of UOP Intelligence Office chief and had the support of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]?

[Siemiatkowski] He had my support as well. These are two different issues. Contrary to what is being written, I do not reduce Marian Zacharski's merits for his work for us in the United States. But this is history. He was awarded medals for his service. But now he has to be accountable for his 1995-96 activities.

[Kurski] How can it be that Zacharski, once a first-rate agent, cannot work in UOP today?

[Siemiatkowski] I also do not understand how such an experienced officer could make so many common mistakes.

[Kurski] Did you ask him about it?

[Siemiatkowski] Yes. We talked as a minister and an officer. As regards officers whom I have dismissed, I have neither a personal attitude nor any reservations about them. They worked with me for more than three months. I did not fire them immediately after I began to work as minister; I waited for the commission's and prosecutor's verdicts.

[Kurski] Do you trust Prosecutor Slawomir Gorzkiewicz's tenet that Zacharski was keen on revenging himself on Oleksy for personal reasons? This interpretation seems to be quite flimsy.

[Siemiatkowski] I do not consider personal motivation. I want to find an answer to the question "how" but not to "why."

[Kurski] So why then have not you confronted Colonel Waclaw Skoczylas with Marian Zacharski, whom he accused of having a thirst for revenge?

[Siemiatkowski] It is Prosecutor Gorzkiewicz's business.

[Kurski] How do you assess the fact that Gorzkiewicz revealed the name of the Russian source to Oleksy?

[Siemiatkowski] I do not like it, but it is Prosecutor Gorzkiewicz's business.

[Kurski] State secrets are your business.

[Siemiatkowski] What kind of additional information can I provide if the Prosecutor's Supervision Office declares that Gorzkiewicz had the right to do so? I must rely on something.

[Kurski] You can have an opinion of your own.

[Siemiatkowski] That this name was made public is bad. Prosecutor Gorzkiewicz did not receive my permission. In addition, he submitted lengthy legal arguments to me, claiming that he, by means of his own investigation, concluded that the Russian source was .... (at issue here is Grigoriy Yakimishin—ed.) I replied that, as regards the case, I will not decide on the issue and will not allow him to use this name for investigation purposes.

[Kurski] When Prosecutor Henryk Biniek declared that he will not institute proceedings against Gorzkiewicz, he said that Oleksy had the right to know the agent's name because, as "prime minister, he knew more serious secrets." Why did you not take a more definite stance at the time? You, a guardian of state secrets, had to say boldly that this could not be done. If a prosecutor can shoot his mouth off [about the state secret], let alone ordinary people....

[Siemiatkowski] I repeat that Prosecutor Gorzkiewicz did not have the right to reveal this name.

[Kurski] What is your opinion of Prosecutor Henryk Biniek's legal arguments?

[Siemiatkowski] I do not want to express my opinion because it would imply an intervention in the issues of the Prosecutor's Office. It is up to the prosecutor general to assess Prosecutor Henryk Binick's activities.

[Kurski] If you wanted to say something pleasant, would you tell me about it?

[Siemiatkowski] The justice minister knows my position on the issue.

[Kurski] Do you know who Olin is?

[Siemiatkowski] No, I do not. But he is not Jozef Oleksy. Both UOP and the prosecutor have ruled this out. An informer who is currently abroad may know who Olin is. You identify Olin with O., but these are two different individuals.

[Kurski] So, who is O?

[Siemiatkowski] According to the UOP studies, there is no agent O.

[Kurski] I do not understand how one could mistake a genuine individual for someone who does not exist?

[Siemiatkowski] Because O could be a UOP officer who played the role of a recruited agent in an absolutely different case in the early 1990's.

[Kurski] From what you say, I could conclude that Generals Gromoslaw Czempinski, Zacharski, Bogdan Libera, and Wiktor Fonfara, who supervised this officer, did not know anything about his mission and therefore took him for a true agent. This seems to be bloody nonsense.

[Siemiatkowski] No, it is not. According to a rule, one department does not know what is being done in another. All threads come together only at the top—that is, in the UOP chief's office. Libera, Czempinski, and Zacharski were intelligence officers, but it was the Counterintelligence Office that dealt with this case. It was Jerzy Konieczny who had complete knowledge of the case. Later, when he became Polish internal affairs minister, he familiarized himself with materials of the Oleksy case; he said outright that this case is linked to another one that was supervised by him when he was a UOP deputy chief. He told this to a special Sejm commission, but his statement was underrated.

At the time Oleksy was under observation, the previous case was not taken out of the archives, which shows that the investigators did not consider a potential connection between the two cases. However, later they said that they had discussed the issue of whether the two cases were interconnected, but this assumption was ruled out outright at the very beginning. If they had studied the documents, many coincidences would have made them think things over.

[Kurski] Who is the author of this interpretation?

[Siemiatkowski] The UOP commission.

[Kurski] Who has checked it?

[Siemiatkowski] Our Counterintelligence Office.

[Kurski] Was everything okay?

[Siemiatkowski] Not everything. The commission was sure that Oleksy is not O. At the same time, according to the commission, many elements pointed at a participant in the 1990's case. The commission, however, had a certain leeway because there must always be some room for doubt.

[Kurski] Apart from these doubts, an interview by Prime Minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz for Polish Radio was very categorical, was it not?

[Siemiatkowski] But there is always room for doubt. I also have a specific tolerance for doubt. The UOP commission said that seven out of eight characteristics of agent O correspond to a participant in the 1990's case, but one characteristic did not fit.

[Kurski] Do you think the prime minister had the right to make these details public?

[Siemiatkowski] The report and the documents, which I showed to the prime minister, made a strong impression on him. He spent several hours studying in detail the documents submitted to him by the commission; they provided examples for each phrase of the report. Please believe me, it was a shocking report. I experienced that myself.

[Kurski] What do your think about the stance of Janusz Palubicki, the only person from the opposition who is part of your advisory committee, who supported the candidacy of Colonel Andrzej Kapkowski for the post of UOP chief?

[Siemiatkowski] I respect him a lot.

[Kurski] Is he independent and reliable?

[Siemiatkowski] I will tell you even more. I have the impression that, if I did not submit this report to the commission, Palubicki would not have supported Col. Kapkowski.

[Kurski] Now please listen to how Palubicki commented on this report to ZYCIE WARSZAWY: "If those who do not know the situation in UOP read this report, they will get the impression that UOP will certainly resolve this issue. In my opinion, this is not so. I heard that the Council of Ministers has begun to deal with this case. But it is not competent on such issues. When it familiarized itself with the report, it had the right to put forward its suppositions, which are wrong. I think that a political mechanism connecting the president, the prime minister, and the MSW chief comes into play here." What do you think about all this?

[Siemiatkowski] You heard what I said.

[Kurski] Do you agree that an incompetent individual could comprehend this report erroneously?

[Siemiatkowski] If an individual familiarizes himself only with this report, of course he would be deeply impressed. But I assure you that both the prime minister and I were quite prepared for the comprehension of this document, which clarified all of our doubts. I cannot and do not want to discuss confidential issues, but there are certain facts that cannot be ignored.

[Kurski] What facts or situations do you imply?

[Siemiatkowski] Those presented in the report.

[Kurski] You say "a" and do not want to say "b."

[Siemiatkowski] I am now under strong pressure from the SLD club, which perhaps is going to endorse a decision that I must present the UOP report to the entire Sejm.

[Kurski] So, will you read it?

[Siemiatkowski] I do not yet know how I will act in this situation. I cannot imagine how this material could be made public to 406 deputies, even if the session is held behind closed doors. I do not imply issues concerning procedural mistakes made by officers who dealt with the Oleksy case. But the report has much more important issues—cryptonyms, names of agents, or strategic objectives of special services—which cannot be made public. I as MSW chief will never do this.

[Kurski] Do your colleagues from the SLD realize this?

[Siemiatkowski] I understand the indignation of my colleagues.

[Kurski] Hence, one can sacrifice the welfare of the state in order to clarify certain issues?

[Siemiatkowski] The problem lies precisely in the following: It is necessary to prove a person's innocence and to disclose lawbreakers.

[Kurski] On which side are you in this conflict?

[Siemiatkowski] The report exists in two versions. The first version of the report exists only in its original and I keep it. The second version has been cut for presentation purposes and was made available to members of our advisory committee, to a special Sejm commission, to the president, to the prime minister, and to our ministers. If the parliament endorses a decision to make the report public to the Sejm, I would be forced to draft a third version.

[Kurski] Will you have to give up?

[Siemiatkowski] Only if the Sejm endorses a relevant decision.

[Kurski] Minister Milczanowski, also at the Sejm's will, leveled accusations at Jozef Oleksy publicly, and your club reproaches him for this now.

[Siemiatkowski] I understand the problem.

[Kurski] Are you sure Col. Kapkowski behaved fairly in the Oleksy case?

[Siemiatkowski] Yes, I am sure.

[Kurski] But he said that Oleksy is innocent before the UOP commission managed to draft its opinion.

[Siemiatkowski] Col. Kapkowski is an excellent expert. During his entire life, he caught spies, but there was one sentence too many in his interview to journalists.

[Kurski] In addition, he worked for the MSW for a long time....

[Siemiatkowski] There is nothing bad here; his predecessor also worked for the MSW for quite a long time. His deputy is Dr. Jerzy Nozka, who came to UOP after 1990. They made a perfect pair.

[[Kurski] Why do you trust the UOP commission more than the Sejm special commission that handled this case? The [Sejm] commission comprises people who represent various approaches....

[Siemiatkowski] This commission is a political organization. They say white is black and vice versa. I experienced this myself.

[[Kurski] Do SLD representatives also call white black?

[Siemiatkowski] Yes, all of them do. For example, they reproach me for not tightening up UOP. They claimed that Col. Kapkowski obliged his officers to observe discipline and restrictions in relations with journalists and politicians. Later the commission gave us a severe dressing down for "violating human rights." I do not understand this. Indeed, a UOP officer must not patronize political and journalists' salons.

[[Kurski] Do you not go to other extremes? You have closeted yourself in an ivory tower that is guarded by old functionaries who can well feel fluctuations in loyalty.

[Siemiatkowski] No, each of them has his own temperament. Besides, the MSW is not only UOP. Every weekend, I go to our units—schools, watchtowers, and police stations—and try to have a breath of fresh air.

[[Kurski] Have you never met a category of subordinates who understand their loyalty to their chief as the anticipation of his wishes? Have you never met yes-men?

[Siemiatkowski] No, you do not know our people. They are not yes-men. They can stand their ground. I had a conversation with an officer who told me: "Excuse me, but you are my 16th minister of internal affairs." His phrase made me think things over. Therefore, I tell them: Today I head the MSW, while tomorrow another man will come here. You must be loyal to both me and my successor.

After all, imagine that I would want to turn UOP into the SLD police. Given such a politically heterogeneous membership of the MSW staff, a leak and an enormous scandal would emerge due to even a minor effort to create such police.

[Kurski] Where do all these leaks from the MSW come from?

[Siemiatkowski] Politicians have always had a temptation to use the special services. Therefore, no one wants to now believe that I in fact do not want to turn UOP into the political police.

[Kurski] Why do leaks occur? Do they imply a war between officers who are loyal to Lech Walesa and those who are loyal to you?

[Siemiatkowski] No, I do not think so. Simply, an opinion emerged recently in Poland that a leak is a political weapon. Hence, everything that can harm an enemy is used. Journalists are also willingly take advantage of this situation.

[Kurski] It is their job.

[Siemiatkowski] Therefore, I will not detain journalists, but I will detain those who provide them with this information.

[Kurski] Have you managed to discover anyone?

[Siemiatkowski] This is not so easy. The entire problem is that the information an officer has at his disposal cannot always be used as court evidence against him.

[Kurski] Do you think that perpetually emerging sensations serve to fool the people in order to make them forget the absolute truth? Oleksy had contacts with Soviet and Russian spy Vladimir Alganov, and such contacts discredit a politician.

[Siemiatkowski] But his contacts did not have an espionage nature. This was proved. But UOP does not assess moral and political characteristics. This must be done by voters and politicians.

[Kurski] Please imagine that the government has been changed. Bogdan Borusewicz will occupy your chair. A special commission to specify mistakes and errors of his predecessor will be set up. Captain Izgorski will come to Borusewicz and complain about being forced to testify against Zacharski. Borusewicz will believe him, soothe his conscience, and forgive him. What will you think about such a Borusewicz?

[Siemiatkowski] I will give this department to Bogdan Borusewicz with a clear conscience, and I am not scared of any commission that could probe into Siemiatkowski's activities.

[[Kurski] But what is your opinion of officers complaining to you with tears in their eyes?

[Siemiatkowski] You should not believe any information obtained from leaks.

[Kurski] So why then do not you refute this information?

[Siemiatkowski] How can I refute testimony in cases that have a "confidential-and-for-special-purpose" provision on them and are components of a report? This information was not contained in Capt. Izgorski's letter to the Polish internal affairs minister but in his testimony, in which he did not complain of being forced to do something. But he presented facts to which he was a witness that for various reasons were not included in the materials submitted to the Prosecutor's Office.

Someone wanted to make fun of Capt. Izgorski and, by doing so, to weaken the significance of his statement.

[Kurski] You must admit that the MSW is like a cracked pipe. The more confidential the information is, the sooner it leaks. WPROST weekly's articles, Yakimishin's name, a UOP-CIA agreement, Kapkowski's instruction, and the loss of confidential materials in the Gdansk UOP.... It is terrible to think what else could have taken place.

[Siemiatkowski] It was not the MSW that made the names public. A UOP-CIA agreement does not exist. It is only pure bluff on the part of Urban. Documents in Gdansk disappeared before I became minister, and an attack on Kapkowski's instruction is part of a perfidious game.

[Kurski] Of a game?

[Siemiatkowski] If one compares orders issued by UOP chiefs over the past four years, one can see clearly that all of them comprised the same formulations, the same tasks, and the same instructions.

[Kurski] You read these instructions at a closed-door meeting of the Union of Labor Deputies Club. The deputies, however, did not agree with you.

[Siemiatkowski] An individual sees in life what he wants to see. I can cite [former] Minister Milczanowski's instruction of February 1994, in which he gave instructions to monitor events and to report on potential strikes to be held in the most vulnerable sectors of the national economy. His instruction listed specific industrial sectors that had to be covered by reports anticipating the events. Kapkowski's instruction comprised the same tenet.

[Kurski] Is this information collected by agents?

[Siemiatkowski] On the contrary. To plant agents and to begin observations, there must be "cases addressing specific sites." While I am minister, there will be no cases against trade unions, public organizations, political parties, and specific circles. UOP also can collect information without using any observation procedures.

[Kurski] How?

[Siemiatkowski] By available means, such as attentively reading the local press, enterprise bulletins, and handbills published by various public and professional organizations and by talking with the people.

[Kurski] By interviewing?

[Siemiatkowski] Yes, without using any special techniques.

[Kurski] Is there any specific threat that makes it necessary to monitor industrial enterprises?

[Siemiatkowski] It is precisely UOP's function, its routine activity. How can we report routinely on national security if we do not collect any information? [Kapkowski's] instruction was issued after strikes were held in Slask and a strike in the Wisla Coal Company failed to take place, at a time when we faced the threat of a strike in the energy sector.

[Kurski] Have you already discovered how Jerzy Urban obtained the text of a confidential UOP-CIA agreement?

[Siemiatkowski] This agreement does not exist. TRYBUNA has reduced my professional rating by one point because I introduced a new tradition and began to invite chief editors of newspapers to the MSW. What else can I do when I hear promises by the chief editor of the NIE weekly?

[Kurski] If this agreement does not exist, there is nothing to break off.

[Siemiatkowski] UOP and the CIA are partners, therefore I decided to inform Mr. Urban that he harms the international position of our country.

[Kurski] How did your conversation go?

[Siemiatkowski] Urban sat in this chair, drank coffee, and said that he does not aim to harm Poland.

[Kurski] Perhaps it is a good way to have an interview with you. One can publish some bluff, threaten you, and you will immediately invite him to have coffee with you.

[Siemiatkowski] Nothing of the kind. When I was a spokesman for the SLD, I used to talk a lot. Now I would rather be silent.

[Kurski] How did you feel when Urban, your party colleague, threatened you that he would publish a UOP-CIA agreement if you did not break the agreement?

[Siemiatkowski] This is why I invited him and told him that his activities were unacceptable.

[Kurski] How do the Americans view you?

[Siemiatkowski] As an efficient MSW chief.

[Kurski] How can you detail your staff policy?

[Siemiatkowski] There is a 51-49 ratio of old and new functionaries in the MSW. Two or four years from now, our young officers will occupy posts of chiefs. The Security Service [SB], the Polish United Workers Party, and Solidarity will be strange to them.

[Kurski] This ratio could be changed more quickly if you dismissed a couple more Bondaryks.

[Siemiatkowski] I dismissed Krzysztof Bondaryk, chief of our Bialystok office, because he did not measure up.

[Kurski] Ryszard Bugaj said that Krzysztof Bondaryk was awarded medals and decorations for service.

[Siemiatkowski] Perhaps his previous chiefs awarded him. In such a paramilitary organization as UOP, subordination to senior officials is obligatory, and the internal affairs minister will always take the chief's side in a conflict situation.

[Kurski] I believe that this chief belongs to the old guard.

[Siemiatkowski] Captain Andrzej Sadlowski, who came to our service after 1990, became the chief of the Fourth Administration, which combats economic crimes. We work well together. He is a very efficient officer. Major Marek Bienkowski, who back in 1990 was an adviser to Solidarity in Szczecin, became deputy Border Guard chief commandant. I dismissed Henryk Zabicki, an SB functionary with a 27-year service record, from our

Gdansk office and nominated Lieutenant Colonel Adam Hodysz for this post.

[Kurski] What has happened to Colonel Slawomir Petelicki? Who will now combat organized crime?

[Siemiatkowski] I received a report on his resignation with regret. Colonel Slawomir Petelicki was an unusual person. An elite antiterrorist unit—"Grom"—of which we are proud now and can boast about, was set up by him practically from zero. I imagine that he will also deal with combating organized crime in an unusual way.

[Kurski] So, what has taken place?

[Siemiatkowski] He challenged the first and the last official administration barrier and gave up. I am very sorry about this.

[Kurski] It is difficult to coordinate the fight against the Mafia if one has only files and a cellular telephone instead of an office.

[Siemiatkowski] He also received an official car from the MSW chief and would have received a lot of other things if he had been more patient. Krakow was not built overnight.

[Kurski] In a word, he became discredited.

[Siemiatkowski] Yes, no words can change the facts.

[Kurski] How effective is your service in the eastern direction?

[Siemiatkowski] It is indeed quite effective.

[Kurski] After all that took place?

[Siemiatkowski] Yes, after all that took place. It is no accident that an officer with almost the longest service record became chief of our Intelligence Department. This was done because our partner services knew him well. Hence, we preserved the principle of continuity. I have already conducted negotiations with CIA chiefs and the leadership of Israeli, German, Hungarian, and Russian special services.

[Kurski] What did they say?

[Siemiatkowski] In their opinion, UOP is a good organization.

[Kurski] Courtesy....

[Siemiatkowski] Courteous talks are held within the first 15 minutes of negotiations, while we talked about specific joint activities over many hours.

[Kurski] Does this imply that Oleksy's case has not harmed us?

[Siemiatkowski] No, it has harmed us, but not to such a great extent as we imagine. Today the special services need tranquility. The situation when the UOP chief and the internal affairs minister spend the majority of their time at hearings in the Sejm commission cannot continue forever.

[Kurski] What will happen to you when reform of the center is implemented? Leszek Miller will supervise a new administration department, including the police. UOP will be supervised directly by the prime minister. You, however, will be thanked for your work.

[Siemiatkowski] I try not to think about this. It is easy for me not to think about it because I have a lot of urgent issues to resolve.

[Kurski] Do you feel you are being used to some extent?

[Siemiatkowski] No. Someone had to deal with these issues.

[Kurski] Please tell me now: Things did not have to develop in this way.

[Siemiatkowski] You know, I imagined that the situation would be much worse.

[Kurski] Are you not bragging?

[Siemiatkowski] No. We will see what life brings.

[Kurski] Are you really not sorry that you became MSW chief?

[Siemiatkowski] No, because I knew what I chose. I abandoned the untroubled and safe post of chief of the National Security Bureau and took the worst ministry. I did so at a time when the state was in a critical situation, which was caused by my predecessor, who charged the prime minister with spying.

Poland: Degree of State Surveillance Assessed

WS0107105796 Poznan WPROST in Polish
23 Jun 96 pp 22-23

[Article by Jerzy Slawomir Mac in cooperation with Pawel Jackowski: "Gendarme for Everyone; Is Poland Turning Into a Police State ?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *"This is an overt return to the practices of martial law," comments Solidarity leader Marian Krzaklewski on the secret order of the head of the Office of State Protection [UOP], Colonel Andrzej Kapkowski, concerning the practice of "monitoring" companies. The order has been made public by a deputy of the Union of Labor, Konrad Napierala. Former Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka is sure that the document "testifies to the widespread practice of installing wiretap devices." The leader of the All-Polish Trade Unions Agreement, Ewa Spychalska, also is disturbed by the* *order. "I am afraid of surveillance of the trade unions," she says.*

Minister of Internal Affairs Zbigniew Siemiatkowski maintains that the order of the UOP head, which Solidarity notified the prosecutor's office about, was made according to law. He added that such orders were given "also under the former governments."

And, indeed, a similar document marked "secret," given the number DP05181/80 and entitled "On the Principles of Prosecuting Illegal Antisocialist Activities," was presented to the "comrade voivodship prosecutors" on 30 October 1980 by General Lucjan Czubinski, the then attorney general. It was one of the first signs of the coming martial law and the internment of the opposition leaders. Similar instructions for the Fifth Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW] (the department that was dealing with the surveillance of working places) were also given in 1985 by General Henryk Dankowski, the head of the Security Service [SB]. Also the MSW, headed by Andrzej Milczanowski, yielded on one occasion to such temptations: It was under Milczanowski that the notorious instruction 0015 was born. It was designed for surveillance of the opposition of those times and was made public by the leader of the Center Accord [PC], Jaroslaw Kaczynski.

However, Krzysztof Kozlowski, a senator of the Freedom Union and the head of the MSW in the government of Mazowiecki, maintains that, after the liquidation of the Fifth Department of the MSW in 1989, the special services did not enter working places and did not establish agents there.

"Gathering information, they relied only on 'white espionage,' using generally attainable materials," confirms Zbigniew Bujak, the leader of the Sejm Commission for Administration and Internal Affairs.

"Should the leaders of the state rely on television for knowledge of a coming strike of railway employees?" Janusz Zemke, a deputy from the Left Democratic Alliance [SLD], asks in justification of the order. In his opinion, the special services can gather information about what is going on in companies in different ways—for example, "by having good contacts with the companies' management." [illegible] echoes the practices of the MSW from the times of Franciszek Szlachcic, who confessed in his memoirs that practically every member of a board of directors or head of a personnel department of "the key working companies" had "good contacts" with the SB. In the 1970's and the 1980's, a list of "key companies" was compiled by the Economic Department of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee, in agreement with the Fifth Department. It contained 128, then 164, and, under martial law, 200 listings. Kapkowski's order obliges the UOP representation offices to select once again "the companies crucial for the economic security of the state." Currently, UOP cares mainly about the most powerful private companies from the economic point of view.

The disclosure of the order given by the head of UOP coincided with the Sejm's being presented with the government's project on amending the law on inspection of the tax revenue system. It would give Treasury inspectors rights characteristic of the police. They would be entitled to control private apartments and organize operational and reconnaissance activities, including the right to plant wiretapping equipment. Banks would be obliged to give them information covered under the bank secrecy clause, including account information. Also, state and self-government institutions would have to share their information about citizens with the Treasury police. The motive for all of this is to limit "the gray zone" of the economy. The Social and Political Committee of the Council of Ministers has called it "a negative phenomenon that breeds crime," and the struggle against "the gray zone" has been presented as the main task in the national program of preventing crime and limiting pathological phenomena. It turns out that the "gray zone" appears to the government to be more dangerous than bandits, racketeers, burglars, rapists, or car thieves.

In the meantime, with the growth of the importance of the special services, the "common" police have again found themselves in the poor relative's position. Despite the assurances, financial discrimination against the police, as compared to the UOP functionaries and military cadre, has not diminished. The plenipotentiary of the prime minister for fighting crime, Colonel Slawomir Petelicki, resigned from his post only four weeks after accepting it. "Organized crime is thriving, and, instead of fighting the bandits, I have to fight with the UOP functionaries," he says. At the same time, in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, people who are not convenient for those now in power are being fired. The dismissed head of the UOP office in Bialystok, Captain Slawomir Bondaryk, is sure he was fired for political reasons. The police chief does not conceal the fact that similar motives were behind the decision about firing the well-known policeman from Gorzow, Marek Surmacz, who was the hero of many press reports. The explanation says that he gave press interviews and supported Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz in the last presidential elections. His mistake then was not opting for Aleksander Kwasniewski.

Attempts to introduce control over bank accounts and trade union activities and checking political views are being made by meddling in the innnermost spheres of privacy. In October of last year, an interpolation was made about the protection of personal files of students. A representative of Minister of Education Jerzy Wiatr has admitted that information is being gathered at schools about the structure of the student's family, family conflicts, how far the child feels accepted, parents' alcohol problems, their stay in prison, parent and child addiction, and psychiatric diseases. The information, not properly protected, can easily become a tool of blackmail.

The 1995 report of the Helsinki Human Rights Foundation includes many examples of state interference in the sphere of privacy. This is even being committed by organs of the prosecutor's office and by courts. In the process of a preliminary judicial procedure, it was disclosed that a suspect was an HIV carrier, although this had no relation to the case. Disturbing signals about the common practice of installing listening devices by the prosecutor's office have become a matter of interest of the ombudsman. He demanded the minister of justice to look into it and to check if the activities were done according to procedure. In the ombudsman's opinion, also the Public Computerized Census System [PESEL] is being abused. Many institutions demand, with no reason given, to be given the data, although revealing the data to people not entitled to it may bring about serious consequences, which most people are not aware of. The data enable one to fairly easily recognize information on citizens stored in different data bases. Personal data are often treated as products of value to be "sold" to mail order companies. It has been disclosed that lists of people were given to them by representatives of the Social Security Agency [ZUS], registration offices, or even electoral commissions.

Some organs of self-governing institutions try to match the behavior of the state authorities. The Zielona Gora Commission for Law and Order has demanded to be granted in a timely manner the records of drunks who are under detentionain until they become sober. Its members have come to the conclusion that their access to the records is not against the law. According to the European Human Rights Commission, there has to be a formal regulation allowing for that. There is no such thing.

Professor Jan Wawrzyniak, the author of the rerearch paper "Right to Privacy, an Outline of the Subject," maintains that the practice of the authorities' meddling in private affairs of citizens is, generally speaking, exempt from punishment.

The small constitution, which repeats the regulations from the 1952 constitution, guarantees protection for the immunity of private apartments and the secrecy of correspondence (although breaching that secrecy, which also includes illegal listening in, is not a routinely prosecuted crime but only a legal offense about which complaints can be lodged). It does not, however, contain any passage about respect for private and family life.

Poland has not signed the European convention on the protection of electronically processed data. Also national regulations on that subject are lacking. Work on the law protecting personal data drags on. The law originated in the same departments of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW] that created the famous project of the state secret protection bill. The project contained an appendix that included a list of 106 topics treated as secret, covering practically all spheres of public life. At the same time, officials are unable to guard real state secrets, which is no obstacle for them in their attempts to learn about the secrets of the citizens' lives—thoroughly and all of them.

[Box, p 23]

Konrad Napierala, a deputy of the Labor Union: "A few years ago, [conservative] liberals from Gdansk were publicly wondering if the structuring of capitalism could not be quicker if democracy and citizens' rights were 'temporarily' restricted. The example given was South Korea, where, admittedly, political liberties have been limited but where the state and the economy are strong. I would not dismiss the thought that a similar dilemma today faces the governing circles. This is no longer accompanied by public discussions but by concrete actions. This is the context in which I would place the attempt to introduce systematic surveillance of working places. If the attempt is successful, the next step would be to limit freedom of the press. Now the press is being threatened by discipline talks with chief editors and unprecedented court verdicts. In the opinion of the ruling ideologues, all of this is certainly for one purpose: the strengthening of the state. Still, the scenario oddly reminds one of the past. And then it was not so much about the state's well-being but about preserving power."

Poland: Social Democracy Party Develops New Platform

WS0107125596 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 1 Jul 96 p 3

[Article by Agata Nowakowska: "The SdRP Creates New Platform and Attacks the Right; Involved in Capitalism"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] *Communism was capable of satisfying only basic needs; it created a totalitarian state stigmatized by Stalinism, a system that resorted to crime in a rabid war with the class enemy. Such are the major* *points raised by the "Theses" of the new platform of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP]. They condemn those who caused the crimes and defend the "lives of the millions of those who worked honestly."*

The SdRP platform theses, developed partly at the secret meeting of the party activists held in Mierki in May, were presented by SdRP Deputy Chairman Izabella Sierakowska at the session of the party's Chief Council this past Saturday [29 June]. The SdRP wants to adopt a new platform at its congress, scheduled for 1997.

"The SdRP is involved in building capitalism. This is a paradox. We thus have to be more sensitive to social issues. The SdRP supports a market economy with elements of state intervention," said Sierakowska, starting the meeting.

Prime Minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz listened in as a guest.

We Condemn Communist Crimes

The "Theses" state that the SdRP supports socialist traditions. Communism, though it did allow millions of people to advance socially, "was, generally speaking, a historical defeat." It was capable of satisfying "only basic social needs" and created a caste of bureaucrats and a totalitarian state "stigmatized by Stalinism, a system that resorted to crime in its rabid war with the class enemy."

"The Stalinist version of socialism," forced on Poland after the war, "brought much wickedness and unlawfulness with it": "We strongly condemn the crimes and claim that those who committed them should not avoid the punishment they deserve." The SdRP defends "the lives of the millions of people who worked honestly" for the Polish People's Republic [PRL].

The "Theses" state that the SdRP derives from the reformist faction within the former Polish United Workers Party ("Throughout the PRL period, there was a reformist faction within the governing camp, more or less powerful and effective, (...) that allowed a compromise with the democratic opposition to be reached."). The SdRP appreciates "the effort of the reformers in the years 1989-90," although the "social costs" of the economic reforms "were too huge," and the mistakes made at the time "will have to be fixed for a long time to come."

The SdRP, the "Theses" suggest, supports a parliamentary democracy, powiats, separating church and state, the "political neutrality of the state" ("there is room for believers and nonbelievers in our party"), a market economy "oriented toward meeting social needs," ownership transformations, lowering the unemployment rate, a free public school system, and joining the EU and NATO. It does claim, however, that the citizens should decide about these issues in a referendum.

The council approved the "Theses" with hardly any discussion. Now they are to be handed to the grassroots party units. Chairman Jozef Oleksy appealed to "political adversaries" to join the discussion on the SdRP platform. [passage omitted]

Poland: Solidarity Proposes ROP Join Election Initiative

WS0107131096 Warsaw GAZETA SWIATECZNA in Polish 29-30 Jun 96 p 4

[Report by Maria Konieczna and Wojciech Zaluska from Poznan: "We Are Not Cannon Fodder"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The trade union Solidarity wants to run in the elections as the leading group in the Solidarity Election Initiative. It is suggesting that the Movement for the Republic of Poland [ROP] join it. It also intends to conclude a nonaggression pact with the Freedom Union [UW] and the Polish Peasant Party [PSL].*

Yesterday [28 June] evening, the Solidarity congress decided that the trade union would run in the elections as part of the Solidarity Election Initiative, which means that it will run together with the parties, associations, and people who approve of the Solidarity platform. It proposed that ROP join the initiative: "Due to our platform similarities, this is vital," the resolution reads.

Solidarity plans to conclude a nonaggression pact with UW and the PSL.

A Dispute Over UW and ROP

The resolution was adopted by a majority of 205 votes; it was rejected by 59 delegates. The resolution was turned down mostly by delegates from Silesia and some from the Mazowsze region. They suggested that the resolution should not mention UW. [Silesia-Dabrowa Solidarity Chapter head] Marek Kempski announced that the Silesia delegates, as a group, will announce that they do not agree with the resolution. Opponents of ROP, in turn, made a motion to exclude Jan Olszewski's party from the resolution.

However, [Solidarity Chairman] Marian Krzaklewski stood up for the resolution. He warned post-Solidarity parties that, if they prepare more than two election lists, Solidarity will form its own social movement and run in the elections separately. "We do not agree to being treated like cannon fodder; we will finance our own funeral," he said.

Off the record, the delegates interpreted the resolution in two different ways. Some said that it was necessary to resign oneself to the fact that two blocs would be set up and that they would be grouped around UW and Solidarity. Others (primarily supporters of ROP) argued that the resolution does not exclude the possibility of holding further negotiations with UW.

Lech Walesa, the only guest of the congress, listened to the debates during the three days. And during all this time he remained silent.

Olszewski: Only the ROP Platform

Jan Olszewski arrived in Poznan yesterday. On the first day of the congress, the delegates decided that they would not invite him to it (they did not invite any other politician, either). In ROP's office in Poznan, Olszewski reiterated several times that the only reason for his visit to Poznan was the anniversary of the June 1956 events.

He was also asked about the trade union's congress. At first he tried hard not to comment on it ("let us wait for the final decisions"). Under pressure, however, he repeated what [ROP Spokesman] Jacek Kurski said earlier: ROP will not join the Election Initiative according to the same rules as the small rightist parties; also, he did not agree to Walesa's patronage: "Such a coalition will be neither strong nor cohesive. In addition, it will have a slim chance of attracting voters who are opposed to Walesa," the ROP leader announced.

Thus, he indirectly rejected the offer made by Solidarity. Instead, he put forward his own proposal once again: for the strongest anticommunist groups, Solidarity and ROP, to form a coalition, and then to invite right-wing parties that share their platform (they would be treated as weaker partners).

Olszewski believes that only the ROP platform will "put an end to the inertia among Polish political elites" and will "prevent sabotage."

Off the record, the delegates compared ROP to Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz: At first, the ratings of the [central bank] president were high [when she was running for the presidency], but, in the actual elections, she was among the candidates who finished last. "The same may happen with ROP," one delegate told us. "We have more than a year to go before the elections. Let us wait. When ROP becomes less popular, it will be less uncompromising, as well."

"Who Was a Rascal"

The congress discussed amendments to the trade union's statute and then adopted them. One of the amendments is that Solidarity will be guided by Christian ethics and by Catholic social teachings. The term of the trade union's leadership was extended for another year. The delegates rejected the proposal to prohibit [former] members of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] (and its satellites) and the All-Polish Trade Unions Agreement [OPZZ] from running for the trade union's leadership posts. Emotions ran high during this debate. People lined up to be able to take the floor. "If we consider the PZPR a criminal organization, then let us be consistent," some said. Others retorted: "Entire organizations from within the OPZZ are coming over to our side; let us not discourage them. Let us also trust the people; they know best who was a rascal in the past and who was not."

Three Hungarian opposition parties sent a letter to the delegates. They wrote that, if it had not been for the Poznan events, the "October events" [workers' protests in October 1956] in Hungary would not have taken place. If it had not been for the Hungarian October, Solidarity would not have been formed. The delegates received the letter with applause.

Poland: Privatization Law Passed by Sejm

WS0107133596 Warsaw GAZETA SWIATECZNA in Polish 29-30 Jun 96 p 20

[Article by Artur Morka: "A New Law on Privatization; For Employees and Administration Officials"—box presenting the history of the privatization law not included]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Yesterday [28 June] the Sejm passed a new law on privatization. According to the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD], the law will speed up privatization processes. Critics of the new law say that it will ensure well-paid jobs for friends of those who are now in power.*

The Law on Commercialization and Privatization is one of the most unfortunate bills that have ever been submitted in our parliament. Work on this law took three years. Last year it caused a veritable battle between the coalition, the opposition parties, and [former] President Walesa. However, even though it was passed, it did not enter into force because the Constitutional Tribunal called some of its provisions into question.

Yesterday, deputies passed the law almost without any problems. It was supported by 231 deputies (first of all, by representatives of the SLD and the Freedom Union, as well as by 17 deputies from the Polish Peasant Party—PSL). The bill was rejected by 111 deputies (of the Union of Labor, the Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms, the Confederation for an Independent Poland, and 68 deputies from the PSL). There were also 11 abstentions. This probably results from the fact that the main dispute over privatization had shifted to the debate on the vote of no-confidence in Privatization Minister Wieslaw Kaczmarek. Another reason is the fact that the most controversial provisions, called into question by the Tribunal, have been removed from the new law.

Privileges for Work Forces

So far, the state has been privatizing companies in line with the old law of 1990. The new law modifies many of its provisions. For example, it gives more privileges to the work forces of the companies privatized:

—Employees of companies privatized will receive up to 15 percent of the stock of their company free of charge (thus far, they have been entitled to 20 percent for half the price). Just as much will be offered to the peasants and fishermen who cooperate with a given company. The amendment submitted by the PSL to give peasants up to 30 percent of the stock was rejected. The value of the shares given to one employee must not exceed the equivalent of 24 months' wages in the [state-run] company sector. If a company has debts to repay to the state budget, the value of the shares cannot exceed the equivalent of 18 months of wages.

—Employees will be entitled to free shares regardless of the method used in the privatization of their company. Currently, for example, employees of companies that are leased do not receive any shares.

—As many as two-fifths of the members of the company's supervisory board will be elected by the company's work force. However, people holding leadership positions in trade unions, for instance, will not be eligible for election to the supervisory board.

Privileges for Administration Officials

The law gives employees more stock, but it also significantly limits their rights while, at the same time, providing greater powers to the administration. President Walesa, Solidarity, and entrepreneurs protested against these provisions a year ago. Despite that, they were not removed from the new version of the law. Here is what the law does:

—It deprives employee councils of their right to object to the commercialization and privatization of their company.

—It allows voivodes and ministers to commercialize companies for purposes other than privatization. Moreover, such companies will be run by people chosen in contests; however, they will be recommended either by the voivode or by the appropriate minister. Critics of the new law claim that, as a result, this gives an opportunity for administration officials to assume hundreds of well-paid jobs. The law envisions the possibility of remunerating directors with company shares.

—It annuls the imperative to privatize a company within two years of its commercialization.

—It limits the powers of the privatization minister. Now he will have to ask the Council of Ministers for approval on all privatization deals.

Even the PSL is satisfied with the last provision. Thus, it seems that it is a foregone conclusion that the Senate will adopt the law and that the president will sign it.

Federal

FRY: UNHCR, Government Sign Cooperation Agreement

LD0207111296 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0936 GMT 2 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 2 Jul (TANJUG)—At the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, an agreement between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was signed today. The agreement will enable further strengthening of mutual cooperation and regulate the status of this UN humanitarian agency in our country, the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs press office announced.

For the government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the agreement was signed by the Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Radoslav Bulajic, and for the UNHCR, by the head of mission of this humanitarian organization in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Margaret O'Keefe.

The signing of the agreement represents at the same time recognition of the UNHCR's activity and its help to the FRY government in providing for a huge number of refugees in this area, the statement adds.

The fact that it is one of the first agreements signed with such an important UN agency represents also a recognition of the FRY's efforts both in the implementation of the Dayton agreement and for its generally acclaimed policy of peace, the statement says.

FRY: Deputy Speaker Comments on Bosnian Elections

LD2906140696 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1255 GMT 29 Jun 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Jagodina, June 29 (TANJUG)—Republika Srpska (RS), Serb entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina should be led by people who are for peace, the economic prosperity of citizens and life together with different nationalities, deputy speaker of Yugoslav parliament upper house Radmilo Bogdanovic said.

In a statement to TANJUG's correspondent in Jagodina, central Serbia, Bogdanovic specified that young, politically-educated people, not burdened by the past, should be elected into the RS assembly and government.

It should be made possible for citizens to elect, without pressure and selfish suggestions from any side, those people and programs that, at this conjuncture, will achieve the best results, said Bogdanovic who is president of the Serbian parliament Council for Relations with Serbs Outside Serbia.

Bogdanovic said that the conjunction was a serious one and that calculations, procrastinations, and selfish interests could greatly damage RS and the FRY.

He stressed that the Dayton peace agreement for Bosnia and Herzegovina protected the interests of the Serbian people and its nonimplementation by any party could not be tolerated.

The FRY has not and will not leave RS in the lurch, said Bogdanovic, and that is why it is sending a strong warning to everyone who turns a deaf ear or in any other way undermines the impelementation of the peace agreement.

The leaderships of the FRY and of the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro vowed Monday on the RS assembly to immediately appoint a RS acting president instead of Radovan Karadzic, in the interest of RS citizens to see the Dayton peace agreement implemented.

Under the Dayton peace agreement, persons accused of having committed war crimes in the four-year-long civil war in the territory of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina cannot take part in the upcoming elections scheduled for September 14.

FRY: Deputy PM Zebic Announces New Facilities for Economy

LD2906141596 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1310 GMT 29 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, June 29 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Deputy Prime Minister Jovan Zebic has announced new fiscal exemptions for exporters and credit facilities for rapid production revival in the second term and a 12.5 percent planned GDP growth.

Speaking Friday evening at a panel of the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia in Belgrade, Zebic said that judging by the positive trends registered in first five months 'conditions have been met for achieving the planned growth and economic policy objectives.'

There has been a constant production growth, Zebic said, although lower than planned (2.2 percent from January to May). He said the sowing campaign had been completed on time and price hikes limited to 1.8 percent.

At the same time Zebic warned the results of foreign trade were unfavorable, although in the first five months it totaled 1.843 billion dollars, a 17 percent increase compared to the same period last year.

The increase is due to higher imports that totaled 1.246 billion dollars, while exports totaled 597 million dollars or a five percent reduction compared to last year, Zebic said.

The Yugoslav deputy prime minister stressed that interest rates should be lowered, but not by administrative measures, but by balancing capital offer and demand and by attracting foreign investments.

Problems will be partially solved by tax and fiscal exemptions, intended strictly for securing working capital, as well as by redistributing resources we have in the country, purchasing foreign currency and extending facilities to exporters, Zebic said.

FRY: Italian Businessman Has '11,000' Soldiers To Oppose League

BR0107121296 Milan IL GIORNALE in Italian 1 Jul 96 p 3

[Article signed "R. Rang.": "'I Have 11,000 Soldiers To Oppose the War Wagon'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade—"I have 11,000 soldiers ready to fight. These guys are trained; they have real guts; they are worth four to five of any adversary." This threat was uttered in an interview by Giovanni Di Stefano, the Italo-Yugoslav businessman with a mansion in Belgrade and interests the world over, even in Campobasso, the city of whose local soccer club he was once president. In all likelihood it was just bragging, but Di Stefano speaks with the greatest nonchalance of "his army," ready to oppose [Italian Northern League Secretary] Umberto Bossi's green shirts.

As Di Stefano himself confirmed, he is currently engaged in the election campaign in Bosnia, where it appears the post of under secretary for foreign affairs is already awaiting him. He is backing "a dear friend," namely Zelko Raznatovic, better known as Commander Arkan, a Serb nicknamed "the butcher of Bosnia" on account of his "exploits" during the civil war. He must be a true friend since Di Stefano attended his wedding to a folk singer. Indeed he footed the bill for the wedding feast: 300,000 German marks. What would one not do for a real friend? On 30 June of last year, Arkan was unable to attend Di Stefano's wedding for security reasons, so he sent a whole troop of Pretorian guards [as published] as an escort in his stead.

And that is not all. The "Tigers'" commander donated 1 billion lire to the Southern League which Di Stefano founded to oppose the Mantua parliament. [passage omitted]

Serbia

Serbia: JUL Enters Election Campaign, Expects Victory

AU0107154996 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1213 GMT 1 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Kragujevac, 1 July (BETA)—Aleksandar Dinic, chairman of the city committee of the Yugoslav United Left (JUL) for Kragujevac, has stated today that the party expects a victory in the upcoming elections, "because it wants to implement its platform of modern left."

At a news conference Dinic said that as far as JUL of Kragujevac is concerned, "the election campaign officially started today," and the JUL is preparing to run in the elections independently.

He assessed meetings with officials of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] in Kragujevac as useful for both parties, and pointed out that "there were attempts to represent the JUL and the SPS as a single party, which is wrong. We are two parties of the left bloc," he said. [passage omitted]

Serbia: Seselj Tours 'South of Serbia' To Revive SRS Image

AU0207083796 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jun 96 p 9

[Article by V. Ristic: "To Revive the Weakened Reputation of the Radicals"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Vranje—In three days, which is how long his tour in the south of Serbia lasted, the president of the SRS [Serbian Radical Party], Vojislav Seselj, and his assistants visited nine villages in five municipalities and organized altogether 11 panel discussions, participating in programs of local radio stations on two occasions.

This tour was all the more significant for an easier interpretation of the situation and the political balance of power in this part of Serbia, when one considers the generally sensitive political situation within the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia], damaged by the years-long quarrels of Tomic and Jovanovic [not further specified]. Travelling through the villages, the radicals discovered their target group, which they will count on in the coming elections and whose votes are primarily expected to go to the SPS as well as the tripartite coalition of the SPO [Serbian Renewal Movement], the DS [Democratic Party], and the GSS [Citizens' Alliance of Serbia].

In his appearances, Vojislav Seselj, together with his assembly representatives Jovica Stojmenovic and

Stanislav Momcilovic, mostly talked about "the Dayton betrayal of Slobodan Milosevic" and the "altogether bad situation in Serbia."

He stated the reasons why the SRS did not want to join the coalition with the SPO, the DS, and the GSS. "They did not accept our request that we should all swear before Patriarch Pavle that none of us will cooperate with the socialists." In Seselj's opinion, Draskovic, Djindjic, and Vesna Pesic are "merchants" and "the fight against their coming to power is as important as the fight against Milosevic."

At nearly all gatherings, Seselj pointed out that "the SRS supported Milosevic as long as he was a real Serb and a nationalist," and that he "lost our support in the moment when he stopped realizing the idea—all Serbs in one state."

Attendence at the panel discussions varied from place to place, but generally more attended than was expected. The purpose of this tour was to revive the rather weakened reputation of the radicals in the south of Serbia, which had been caused by the dissolution of the committee in Vranje and the passivity of the membership.

[Box, p 9]

"CIA Kills in Kosovo"

"The murder of seven members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Serbia in Kosovo was organized by the U.S. intelligence agency, the CIA. Why does Slobodan Milosevic not go to Kosovo himself, where local Serbs have been calling for him to come, but instead tests the public opinion about the surrender of Kosovo, through the president of SANU [Serbian Academy of Science and Arts] Despic? When he saw the people's anger at that statement, his party comrades shyly started to distance themselves from Despic's statement. The Americans do not want to separate Kosovo from Serbia, but they want a return to the 1974 constitution, which is even worse for local Serbs," Vojislav Seselj said at the panel discussion in the village of Korbevac.

Serbia: DSS Leader Calls For Closer Ties to Bosnian Serbs

LD2906213596 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1421 GMT 29 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 29 Jun (SRNA)—Greater independence for the Bosnian Serb Republic and its ties with Serbia are legitimate Serb interests, Vojislav Kostunica, the president of the Democratic Party of Serbia [DSS] said today.

In a speech at the formal part of the DSS assembly, which opened today in Belgrade, Kostunica said that today we had to behave as if Serbia and the Serb Republic were one.

"It may be in somebody's interest in Washington or Belgrade that Banja Luka becomes closer to Sarajevo, but our interest is that Banja Luka becomes closer to Belgrade and Serbia. In other words, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia must conduct a policy of weakening the border on the River Drina and turning it into a relative issue," the DSS president said.

He added that even the Dayton agreement allowed the right to strengthen ties between the Serb Republic and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and that the Bosnian Muslims and Croats had already established such ties with Croatia. [passage omitted]

Serbia: Political Aspect of Strikes Detailed

96BA0346A Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 31 May 96 p 9

[Article by Petar Ignja: "Imitation of the Strike"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Strikes in Serbia are like making love at a distance. The first thing the strike's organizers report, emphasize, and underline three times is the "fact" that the workers have no political demands at all, they have no interest in politics whatsoever, they would not even dream of engaging in politics, they leave everything related to politics to the competent authorities, and the workers are interested solely in the strike's social aspect. If the strike occurs in May, they are only demanding to be paid the first part of the earnings from January, an average of 100 dinars and change; they are willing to wait for the rest until July.

The second rule goes like this. When some people strike, an equal number are in haste to announce to the "competent authorities" that they are not in favor of striking and that 'they' are an irresponsible group of workers who are nothing other than the long arm of the opposition. In any case, a majority of the workers support Slobodan Milosevic, Mirko Marjanovic, and Mile Ilic (it says in the telegram).

As the workers go, so go the strikes. As the aims go, so go the demands. As the resolve goes, so go the results! After all, what did happen in the streets of Nis after all the hullabaloo? Some 30,000 workers went to the streets and demanded—bread. Not higher wages or better working conditions (who is even thinking about that in this horrible situation), but a piece of bread.... Bread, bread, master, it is long since we have seen bread..., they quoted Mazuranic. The master heard some of it, missed some of it, in general pretended not to hear, then took a few million from the treasury of the most famous of our businessmen, and distributed that pittance, like the best man at a wedding, among those who had "seriously" threatened the government for several days. And what then? First, they prostrated themselves before the Master, then they dispersed peacefully and with dignity (not a blade of grass was harmed!), repeating the chorus: Our demands have been met, our social demands, and politics does not concern us.

But still, what are we going to do about the well-known theories about strikes, which say that a strike is an organized joint work stoppage, that workers organize strikes in order to achieve certain political or social objectives? And yes, they may be economic in their basic character, but they may also be political. And the workers, especially in Serbia, aside from demanding that they be paid their wages, also frequently demand removal of the manager because the managers of state and public enterprises are only a long arm of the government, and often the government itself (after all, the prime minister himself is just the manager of a large firm).

In a country where a socialist social system is in power, and that is the case of our dear Serbia, the law cannot provide that the demands of strikers may not be political as well. They must above all be political, because the state and society are the predominant owners of our firms, the state and society, via the incumbent party, rule the enterprises, directly appoint their party people to management positions, do as they will with every dinar earned, take as much as they need, and give the workers as much as they must. To keep them from dying off.

The government can say what it likes, but everything that happened recently in Nis was political in nature. Removal of the manager of the largest enterprise was demanded, and the government gave in—he was removed. Is that not a political demand, and was that not a political concession? Then the government made another typical voluntarist move: The mayor's office in Nis made a decision to relieve 8,000 workers of the obligation to pay for utilities and municipal services. There were three times that many workers on strike, but the gift from the state was shared by only one-third of them! There is both cynicism and loathsomeness here, all of which can be summed up in a few words—throwing table scraps to the hungry. This government is not interested in whether the workers bite each other over the apple of contention, like the Greek gods (let it be an apple, table scraps sounds disgusting). Perhaps that was even its political objective. Finally, who is going to define the list of the fortunate ones to whom the government has been charitable? The government itself, of course.

So, we have proven that the strikes in Serbia are exceedingly imbued with politics. They are directed (mildly) against the government, and the government deals with all the demands voluntaristically. That is—politically. Any sensible person must ask himself: How can that person who has consumed something—electricity, water, heat, plus housing—be relieved of paying for it by a single official act? Where is that a custom? Only under communism. Someone is going to have to pay for that, and the payment will be made by those who have a bit of money. They will pay for twice what they consumed. Where is that a custom? Only in Serbia. Someone will say that it never hurts to have a bit of solidarity. Fine. No, it does not. But it is not lawful, it is not fair. Solidarity makes sense only if it is voluntary. This is not aimed against those who are most threatened (we believe that they are on that list), but against the kind of attempt being made to resolve all this. People who work must be paid honestly, not given state charity at the expense of others.

Our workers have once again failed the test of solidarity and morality. Those who received more charity ended the strike, they withdrew, taking the others with them, and Mile Ilic could confidently telegraph Slobodan: We have fooled them once again. Stop. There will be other nominations for the Nobel Prize. Stop. The grass roots support us. Stop. They do not want change. Stop.

Montenegro

Montenegro: Bulatovic: Authorities Ready To Arrest Karadzic

AU0107142396 Hanau NOVA BOSNA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jun 96 p 5

[ONASA report: "We Will Arrest Karadzic If He Comes to Montenegro"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Podgorica, 28 Jun—Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic has stated that Radovan Karadzic, leader of the rebel Bosnian Serbs, has no right to come to Montenegro, but if he does, the Montenegrin authorities will arrest him. Asked whether "he ever thought about going to The Hague," Bulatovic said that he did not. "But if I had to go there, I would go with a clear conscience."

Montenegro: Serbian Assembly Party Urges Karadzic To Resist

LD0107145696 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1347 GMT 1 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Podgorica, 1 Jul (SRNA)—Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic, is "a synonym for the chivalry and honor of the Serb people and its struggle for a name, survival, and dignity," Momir Vojvodic, deputy chairman of the Serbian Assembly Party, said in Podgorica today.

Commenting for SRNA on Dr. Karadzic's decision to transfer his powers to the vice president, Dr. Biljana Plavsic, Vojvodic said that this move was forced by brutal blackmail by Washington and Bonn. He warned that pressures on the leadership of the Serb Republic will continue and even assume the form of physical threats.

"President Karadzic should resist his heartless foes and the fainthearted Serbs and keep his people around himself so that he may work in a truly democratic atmosphere on organizing an imperial Serb Republic, the way it should be," Vojvodic said.

According to him, the Hague tribunal's charges against Dr. Karadzic and General Ratko Mladic are an attempt by the leading world powers to cover up and pass onto someone else their own responsibility for the bloody destruction of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and incitement of the civil and religious war on its territories.

"The perverse scriptwriters and directors of war and peace carry out experiments here and trade in their victims, trying to create a Bosnian melting pot in which the quarrelling nations will simmer as long as it suits them," Vojvodic said.

Montenegro: SRS Praises Karadzic as Serb Representative

LD0107153496 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1325 GMT 1 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Podgorica, 1 Jul (SRNA)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic, is the only person who can properly represent the whole Serb nation and defend its interests to the world, Ugljesa Rabrenovic, general secretary of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS] of Montenegro, told SRNA today.

According to him, by transferring his powers to Biljana Plavsic, vice president of the Serb Republic, in line with the constitution, Dr. Karadzic has "made a political move to which he was brutally forced by the world power brokers and certain people from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia."

"The Serb radicals from Montenegro believe that Mrs. Plavsic and all those who will be standing in for Dr. Karadzic will continue on the road to building a modern Serb Republic. We wish the Serb Republic to become, as soon as possible, an equal member of the federation along with Serbia and Montenegro," Rabrenovic concluded.

Montenegro: Djukanovic Says FRY's Main Problem Is Communication

LD3006175396 Belgrade FONET in Serbo-Croatian 1346 GMT 30 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Podgorica, 30 Jun (FONET)—"The key problems of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia today are its communication problems with the outside world," Montenegrin Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic said at a recent meeting with the press in Podgorica, MONTENA FAX [Montenegrin news agency] reports.

Expressing his view that even the latest diplomatic nominations "were not the most ideal solutions for the FRY" and that "more fresh and creative staff in the diplomatic service could accomplish far more, while our aim could be achieved sooner," Djukanovic added that "it was evident that we have not yet successfully built a synchronized approach in both federal units."

"If I am allowed to comment on how Serbia had implemented its staff policy within the foreign policy of Yugoslavia, then I must say that I am not completely satisfied. There are, in my view, not enough professionals and much more inertia from former times—politicians are being simply redirected to highly responsible diplomatic posts," Montenegrin Prime Minister Djukanovic said. He added that Montenegro "except in two or three exceptions had abided by the principle that it was necessary to rejuvenate the diplomatic service of Yugoslavia and bring it up to date, while at the same time placing trust in professionals."

Kosovo

Kosovo: Trial of Rugova's Adviser Postponed 'Indefinitely'

AU0207131996 Zurich BOTA SOT in Albanian 2 Jul 96 p 5

[Report by the Kosova Information Center: "The Trial of Dr. Alush Gashi Postponed for an Indefinite Time"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prishtina [Pristina], 1 July (QIK)—The trial of Prof. Dr. Alush Gashi, President Rugova's adviser for health affairs, which was scheduled by the Serbian Court of Prishtina to be held today [1 July], was postponed indefinitely because the Serbian witnesses failed to show up at the courtroom.

As you have been informed, Dr. Gashi is accused of not waiving the entry level requirements and allowing a number of Serb and Montenegrin students to be enrolled in the university in 1990 when he was dean of the Medical Faculty.

Dr. Gashi's defense attorneys, Destan Rukiqi and Nekibe Kelmendi, stated on the occasion that proceedings against their client should be suspended, as no criminal offense exists in the case. Even if one did exist, legal proceedings are barred by the statute of limitations because more than six years have elapsed since the events in question.

Kosovo: Serb Police Arrest Ethnic Albanian Writer

AU0207094196 Tirana ATA in English
2041 GMT 1 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, July 1 (ATA)—The Serb police on Monday [1 July] arrested the Albanian critic and writer from Kosova, Agim Vinca, because he visited Albania three years ago without permission, the Kosova Information Center reports.

This is part of Serb police efforts to hinder ties and contacts between Albanians of Kosova and those of Albania, the center reports.

Recently, the crossing of the Serb border into Albania has been simplified and the visa can be received at the border.

Kosovo: LPK Criticizes 'Peaceful Policy,' Supports UCK

AU0207122096 Zurich BOTA SOT in Albanian
25 Jun 96 p 3

[Article by Naser Breca: "The Leadership of Pristina Hampers Concrete Initiatives for Liberation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Popular Movement of Kosova [LPK], a political organization that once enjoyed the greatest influence at home and among the diaspora, seems to have regretted that it held back from political activity in the past five to six years due to the circumstances created by the alleged outbreak of waves of democracy in the turbulent Balkan region and, consequently, in the entire Albanian area. Recently, and particularly following the guerrilla actions of the "Liberation Army of Kosova" [UCK] against the police of the Serbian occupier, the LPK has increased its political activity either by organizing demonstrations and holding information rallies with compatriots or by raising financial support for those who have started to turn the words about the liberation of Kosova into deeds. A consultative meeting was held on Friday [21 June] in Biel/Bienne in Switzerland with the LPK branch activists for the area. The meeting was held in the wake of the deeds that give an impression that concrete activity to assist the enslaved Kosova is being performed. The LPK activists Alush Blakaj and Emrush Xhemajli took the floor at the meeting, reflecting in their speeches the stance of this organization on the latest events in Kosova. They both expressed unreserved support for the UCK and for all others who are making concrete efforts to fight the occupier. The meeting decided and approved the creation of a commission for financing activity for the liberation of Kosova.

The meeting rejected the statements of the political leadership of the Republic of Kosova that the latest actions by the UCK guerrillas "aim to prevent a peaceful solution of the issue of Kosova" (in which the part of Kosova ruled by Macedonians is not included). These statements were viewed as mediocre and aimed at creating confusion and defeatism among the people in order to preserve the status quo and the privileges currently enjoyed by that leadership, which, as it was later stated, "strangely enough, even after all the defeats, boasts that it has the situation under control and that the peaceful policy will soon be rewarded with freedom by the international community."

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